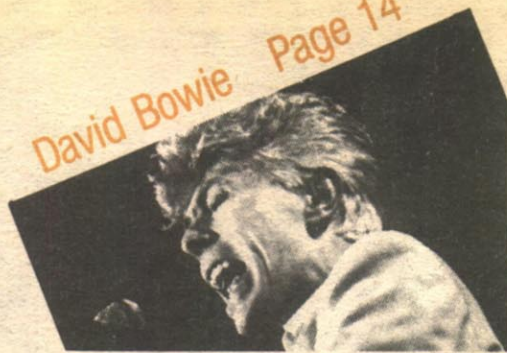


# IN THESE TIMES

David Bowie Page 14



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## Affirmative

# REACTION

Reagan  
and the civil rights lobby  
are deadlocked.  
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Pay Equity Victory  
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# THE INSIDE STORY



Begin's successor's task will be to consolidate the right.

## Israel after Begin: more of same?

By Barry Cohen

L O N D O N

During the past six years, Menachem Begin dominated Israeli politics in a way not seen since Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, held center stage during the nation's early decades. Unlike Ben-Gurion, however, Begin managed to elicit an unprecedented degree of emotion among Israeli voters. Not surprisingly, in announcing his sudden resignation, Begin inspired utter despair among his followers and immense relief among his opponents.

At an August 28 cabinet meeting, an ailing Begin informed his colleagues that he felt he could not carry on shouldering his responsibilities. Having ruled as an authoritarian leader with no heir apparent, Begin's resignation sparked a surge of speculation regarding his likely successor. Begin's political creation, the Herut party, has always operated according to what it called the "unity" approach to party affairs. Essentially this means the rank and file remain disciplined adherents to their leaders' policies.

After the death of his wife and the Lebanon war, Begin's mental and physical condition became a standard topic among Israeli political commentators; and Begin's opponents increasingly alluded to his psychologically depressed condition. Speculation arose regarding Begin's political future, particularly whether he would lead his right-wing Likud coalition into the next election. At the heart of this conjecturing lay the question about the future of the quarrelling coalition. Was Begin's power larger than the sum of its parts, or had he actually welded a conservative bloc that could survive his departure and continue the long-term task of recreating Israel according to his vision?

Begin only came to international attention when he was elected prime minister in May 1977, bringing 29 years of Labour Party rule to an end. Yet prior to this historic change, he had always been a highly controversial figure within Israel—usually adored by his followers, often despised by his opponents. He entered the cauldron of Mideastern politics when he arrived in Palestine in 1942 as a private in General Anders' Polish Army. In late 1943, he left the army to become the leader of an underground terrorist organization called Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization).

Irgun originated from the ranks of the Zionist movement's revisionist wing. Led by Begin's mentor, Vladi-

mir Jabotinsky, the revisionists had broken away from mainstream Zionism in the '30s, mainly over the question of the role of armed struggle in the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Establishment Zionists believed that diplomacy and international pressure were essential components in their strategy. But Jabotinsky argued that the growing threat of Nazism to the Jewish communities in Europe compelled the movement to press for the earliest possible statehood, regardless of opposition from Arab nationalists or British imperialists. According to his biographer, Jabotinsky believed that a Jewish state could only be achieved "against the wish of the country's present Arab majority; an 'iron wall' of Jewish armed force would have to protect the process of achieving a majority."

The official underground movement of the socialist-oriented sector of the Jewish community, the Haganah, pursued a policy of military "self-restraint" while organizing a large self-defense network. The Irgun, in contrast, went on the offensive, launching hundreds of attacks on British troops and installations and doling out severe reprisals against local Arabs. Begin, who was by this time the most wanted man under the British mandate, once articulated his movement's philosophy this way: "We live in a world of wolves who only understand the language of force."

When the United Nations called for the partition of Palestine in 1947 between the Jewish and Arab populations, the Zionist dispute about Israel's future shape came to a head. Labour Zionists, led by Ben-Gurion, were prepared to settle for the UN solution, while Begin's movement continued to call for a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River.

Following Israel's establishment in 1948, Begin was left in the wilderness of opposition politics. Though his formidable gifts as a populist orator always managed to draw enthusiastic audiences, national political power eluded him.

### Rise to power.

Israel's conquest of the West Bank in the Six Day War of 1967 re-opened the old Zionist debate regarding the nation's final frontiers. Under various Labor administrations, the Israeli presence in the occupied territories continued to grow, though at a moderate pace. When Begin took office in 1977, he quickly realized he had the opportunity to fulfill his revisionist Zionist dream.

Only one week after his electoral victory, Begin made his intentions clear: "I believe Judaea and Samaria [the West Bank] are an integral part of our sovereignty. It is our land. It was occupied by Abdullah [the King of Jordan] against international law, against our inherent right. It was liberated during the Six Day War when we used our rights of national self-defense.... You annex foreign lands, you do not annex your own country."

With their hands on the state levers of this regional superpower, the Likud government accelerated the process of absorbing the West Bank. By the end of Begin's first term in June 1981, Israel had quadrupled the number of settlements in the occupied territories. Under Labour Party rule, Jewish settlements had been established in sparsely populated areas. The Likud had reversed this policy, building settlements directly adjacent to major Arab towns.

Undoubtedly, Begin's supreme diplomatic triumph was the conclusion of a separate peace with Egypt. Initially, Israel's signing of the Camp David agreement in September 1978 created the false belief in the West that Begin could be persuaded to compromise territory in

return for peace with Arab neighbors. But this optimism failed to account for Begin's mystical attachment to the concept of a Greater Israel.

For Begin, the gun was always the key weapon in the process of Jewish national redemption. In *The Revolt*, a personal account of his underground days, Begin recounted the guiding motto of his organization: "We fight, therefore we are"—a motto that was the foundation for much of his policy as prime minister.

Whenever dissenting opinions were voiced within Israel or the Jewish Diaspora against his approach to international relations, Begin was quick to remark that, as a sole survivor of a family that perished in the Holocaust, he was bitterly aware of the world's hostility to Jews. It followed that their security could only ultimately be assured by the force of arms.

When former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon proposed a quick war in Lebanon to destroy the PLO, Begin's admiration for military solutions made him an easy target for seduction by Sharon's strategy. Fifteen months later, Israel remains bogged down in its Lebanese "North Bank," while a disillusioned nation becomes increasingly divided.

Begin's immediate successor, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, is the first Herut leader to be elected, rather than selected through acclamation by party members. His defeated rival, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, had insisted on a secret ballot in the hope that he could capitalize on his Sephardic (Oriental) roots in a party that owed so much to Sephardic voters. Shamir's election was clearly a triumph for Herut's Ashkenazi (European) old guard. If his past is any indication, Shamir will not disappoint his supporters ideologically. Given his ultra-rightist politics, Shamir's tenure may make Begin's political rigidity and hectoring style appear relatively moderate.

### Shamir and the Stern Gang.

Shortly after arriving in Palestine from Poland in 1935, Shamir joined the underground Irgun. In 1940, when the Irgun split, Shamir joined the more militant break-away faction, Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Israel Freedom Fighters). Popularly called the Stern Gang, after its leader Abraham Stern, this group refused to respect the truce with the British Mandate that the Jewish community maintained, in deference to the Allied effort to defeat Nazi Germany.

Shamir rose rapidly within the organization's ranks and eventually found himself high on the British most-wanted list. As the Stern Gang's chief operational planner, he is credited with organizing the 1944 Cairo assassination of Lord Moyne, Britain's minister of state for the Mideast. After his second escape from a British detention camp in Eritrea, Shamir made his way to France, where he received political asylum.

Upon his return to Israel in 1948, he planned the September assassination of UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte, who had strongly advocated the return of Arab refugees displaced during Israel's War of Independence. For his role in this plot, Shamir was detained for one and a half years under Israel's defense regulations, but never brought to trial.

Following his release, Shamir wrote to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, offering to put past rivalries behind. Shamir suggested that his underground experience could be put to good use in Israel's incipient secret service. Ben-Gurion accepted his offer, and Shamir embarked on a new career in the MOSSAD. Between

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## IN THESE TIMES

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

CONGRESS OPENED DEBATE last week on a War Powers Act resolution that will authorize American Marines to remain in Lebanon for another 18 months. Congress was expected to pass some version of the resolution.

The congressional debate came in the wake of renewed fighting and growing American military involvement in Lebanon's civil war. Citing the deaths of four Marines from Druze gunners, the Reagan administration authorized the Marines to call in naval and air bombardment to aid the faltering Lebanese national army in their battle against the Druze and the Syrians.

By taking this step, President Reagan not only placed American troops in combat—for the first time since the last days of the Vietnam war—but also put American forces on the side of Lebanon's Christian minority and embattled Lebanese central government, which represents about 1 percent of the nation's land and represents at most 40 percent of its people.

The Reagan administration's approach reflects an eagerness to project American military power and an utter incomprehension of the political context in which it is being projected. Even more than Vietnam, Lebanon is a quagmire. Upon a country smaller than Rhode Island and more riven by social contention than south Chicago, the major conflicts of the region and world have been superimposed.

Ultimately, force will fail in Lebanon because its competing peoples—Maronite Christians, Greek Orthodox Catholics, Sunni and Shiite Moslems, Druze, Palestinians—each represent larger forces than themselves. Israel could not get rid of the PLO in Lebanon without getting rid of Syria and perhaps even the Soviet Union. The PLO and the Syrians could not get rid of the Christians without getting rid of the Israelis and perhaps the U.S.

The U.S. will not emerge unscathed from Lebanon. As even the Israelis discovered, there have never been winners in Lebanon's wars.

### Origins of civil war.

Lebanon's civil war dates back 50 years to when France carved Lebanon out of Greater Syria. Lebanon was distinguished by its Maronite Christian community, which together with other Christian sects made up about half of the new Lebanon. Bitter conflict ensued, however, between the Moslems and the Christians, who organized themselves into the Franco-inspired Phalange Party—over political control of Lebanon.

In 1943, the Christians and Moslems reached a settlement, called the National Pact, in which Christians and Moslems divided political power according to the 1932 census in which Christians outnumbered Moslems six to five. But over the next three decades, the tensions recurred, as Moslems came to outnumber the politically—and economically—dominant Christians.

After World War II, a new dimension was added when the Christian parties aligned themselves closely with the capitalist, anti-Communist West and the Moslem parties with the pan-Arab, socialist and Communist movements of the East. In 1958, civil war broke out. The U.S. landed 14,000 Marines in order to prevent the Moslem threat to pro-Western Christian President Camille Camoun.

In the '70s, another dimension was added. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), driven from Jordan, set up its army in Lebanon and began to conduct guerrilla raids into northern Israel from Lebanon. Partly to punish the Palestinians but primarily to enflame the Christians against the Palestinians, the Israelis conducted massive bombing raids against Beirut.

# A Vietnam-style quagmire looms for U.S. in Lebanon

The Israeli strategy worked. The Christians, who had championed the Palestinian cause, turned against the Palestinians, while the Palestinians allied themselves with left-wing Moslem groups.

In the aftermath of the 1967 Six Day War, Syria—which historically viewed Lebanon as part of its territory—also gained an added stake in Lebanon's internal politics. Since Israel had seized Syria's Golan Heights in the war, Syria backed the PLO in Lebanon against Israel and defended the PLO against any Lebanese Christian assaults.

During the Ford administration, after the outbreak of the second Lebanese Civil War, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger tried to settle the region's myriad conflicts. Kissinger's efforts were flawed (by, among other things, his refusal to talk to the PLO), but Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy took account of the complexity of the situation. Kissinger realized that both Syria and the Soviet Union would have to be part of a Mideast peace settlement.

Carter's Camp David diplomacy was a step backward. Carter read Syria, the Soviet Union and the PLO out of the peace process. By not including the Soviet Union, the Carter administration reinforced the East-West dimension of Arab-Israeli conflicts and committed the U.S. to backing Israeli intransigence toward Syria and the Palestinians.

The Reagan administration showed fitful signs of altering Carter's stand toward Israel, but accepted the core of Carter's Mideast policies—the exclusion of the Soviet Union, Syria and the PLO from the peace process. By doing so, the Reagan administration laid the basis for Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The Israelis knew the U.S. would have to support them against the PLO and Syrians.

### Marines land.

The Reagan administration protested what it viewed as Israeli excesses in Lebanon, but it accepted the aims of Israeli policy—to drive the PLO out of Beirut, establish an Israeli-controlled region in southern Lebanon and install right-wing Christians at the head of Lebanon's government.

In August 1982, the U.S. sent a small Marine detachment to help supervise the PLO's evacuation from Beirut. The Marines stayed only 16 days. But in September, after Lebanese President Bashir Gemayel was assassinated and the Phalangist troops massacred Palestinian refugees under Israel's eyes, the U.S. acceded to the request of the new Lebanese government, headed by Bashir's brother, Amin, to send more than 1,300 Marines as part of a "peace-keeping force." The Marines' ostensible purpose was to supervise the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and to assist the Lebanese government in establishing sovereignty.

On September 29 of last year, in accordance with the War Powers Act, Reagan sent Congress a message informing it that he was sending troops and assuring it that there was "no intention or expectation that U.S. armed forces will become involved in hostilities."

But events proved that there was a contradiction between the administration's peaceful expectations and the troops mission. The contradiction can best be un-

derstood by examining overall American aims in Lebanon. These, as stated December 1, 1982, by Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam, were "to restore Lebanese sovereignty and to ensure Israeli security." How this is done, and whether it is possible to do at all, depends on whose definition of Lebanese sovereignty and Israeli security one accepts.

Strictly speaking, Lebanese sovereignty has never existed. Since the French granted independence, the Lebanese state has never possessed the requisite legitimacy or monopoly of force to make its decisions stick. Each religious sect and political grouping had its own army and leaders to whom it was ultimately beholden.

To establish sovereignty in Lebanon, a government would have to win the unequivocal commitment of Christians and Moslems and replace the private armies with a Lebanese national army. At the least, such a government would have to win support for a new national pact that would distribute power more equally between Christians and Moslems. It would also have to ensure the withdrawal of foreign armies from Lebanon and acquire international guarantees of Lebanon's independence.

Amin Gemayel, who was elected by a Lebanese parliament chosen in accordance with the 1932 census, has shown hints of being politically independent, but he is ultimately beholden to his father Pierre Gemayel, the leader of the Phalange Party and army.

He has acted accordingly, using the 34,000-man Lebanese army, commanded by a former Phalange commander, to disarm Moslem private armies. Yet he has not threatened the Phalange army. This is an important reason for the current fighting in the Suuf Mountains.

When the Israelis invaded, the Phalange armies trailed behind them, trying to spread their own power in Lebanon. One place they went was the Suuf Mountains, where the Druze, who make up about 10 percent of Lebanon's population, live. This summer, as the Israelis withdrew, the Lebanese army tried to move into the Suuf Mountains in order to disarm the Druze militia. The Druze, aided by the Syrians, began fighting back.

### Israeli security.

Israel's concept of security is complex. In the '70s, the Labor Party argued that Israel would have to retain parts of the territories occupied during the Six Day War for security reasons. But the ruling Likud Coalition views the West Bank and Gaza as part of Greater Israel. They seek new territorial outposts to ensure Israeli security. Thus, they invaded Lebanon in order to win control of southern Lebanon to ensure the security of northern Israel from Palestinian attack, and to destroy the PLO as a force in Lebanon and in the occupied territories.

In this May's agreements with the Gemayel government, the Israelis obtained control of southern Lebanon and the right to conduct army controls as far north as the Awali River. Such an agreement fit the Likud concept of security, but it also violated any semblance of Lebanese sovereignty over its own lands. It showed that Lebanese sovereignty and Israeli security, as defined by the Likud, are incompatible.

The Syrians and the Lebanese Moslems predictably rejected the Gemayel government's agreement with Israel. Syria has

done what it can to sabotage the agreement. It has moved arms and soldiers into the Suuf Mountains to aid the Druze and probably incited the Druze to begin shelling American Marines last month.

This way, the pursuit of Lebanese sovereignty, as defined by the Gemayel government, and Israeli security, as defined by the Likud Coalition, has led to a renewal of the civil war.

There is nothing wrong with a policy aimed at ensuring Lebanese sovereignty and Israeli security, but the current American policy has accepted the Phalangist definition of sovereignty and the Likud definition of Israeli security. As a result, the U.S. has been drawn into the new civil war on the side of the government and the Israelis.

The Reagan administration initially tried to cloak its military attack against the Druze in the guise of self-defense. But the September 17-18 shelling of Druze positions in Suq El Gharb by American ships had no conceivable connection with defending American Marines. As an American officer told the *Washington Post*, the shelling was ordered because "the Lebanese army was in fact afraid they were going to be overrun."

The Reagan administration employed tortuous reasoning to defend this escalation. Reagan's press spokesman Larry Speakes said, "The success of the Lebanese armed forces defense of the area is vital to the safety of U.S. personnel, the multinational forces and members of the diplomatic corps." In short, any threat to the Lebanese army is a threat to the Marines.

Among members of the multinational force, the French were the first to protest the new American logic. "If Americans want to take the place of the Israelis, that is their responsibility, not ours," French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson said.

### Congressional reaction.

In the wake of the death of four Marines and the introduction of American naval and air forces, congressional Democrats proposed that the War Powers Act be invoked. The Act, passed by Congress in 1973 over President Nixon's veto, was designed to prevent undeclared wars like in Vietnam by requiring the president to seek authorization for introducing American troops "into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated." If Congress does not authorize American involvement in 60 days, the president must withdraw American troops.

On September 14, the Senate Democratic Caucus met and voted 29 to zero to call for invoking the War Powers Act. They gained the support of such key Republicans as Maryland Sen. Charles Mathias. The Reagan administration balked initially, both because the act tied the president's hands and because it feared an open debate on the merits of U.S. involvement. But from its discussions with congressional leaders, the administration learned that there was very little disagreement in Congress about what the administration was doing in Lebanon, only with its failure to get congressional approval for its actions.

A White House spokesman said, "There's almost perfect unanimity on policy and the mission of the Marines. It's all a question of institutional pride, but it has big foreign policy implications."

Assured of little debate, the Reagan administration accepted a compromise version of the War Powers Act. This version authorized American troops past the time of the November 1982 election, while limiting the number of Marine ground troops to the present 1,300. It was sufficiently ambiguous in its statement of American aims to permit the present shelling on behalf of the Lebanese army.

Far from deterring or faulting present American policy in Lebanon, the War

*Continued on page 6*



# INSHORT

## Under the peace umbrella

In the book *1001 Empty Historical Analogies for Presidents and Would-be World Leaders* (due out sometime in 1984), the Neville Chamberlain chapter will be must reading. Chamberlain, readers will recall, was the British prime minister who went to Munich in 1938 with an umbrella and an appeasement policy to soothe Adolf Hitler and save "peace in our time." Since then the hapless Chamberlain has been forced to stand shoulder to shoulder with every dupe who would sell out the West to the Soviets—our Hitler—in the name of peace. Most recently President Reagan, in a speech last month to the American Legion convention in Seattle, compared the Western peace movement's goals to Chamberlain's "vague policy of peace" that, of course, brought on World War II.

But Germany's Green Party, unwilling to recognize Chamberlain as a forefather of the modern peace movement, published a history lesson for Reagan in the weekly *Die Grunen*, Diana Johnstone reports. The Chamberlain-Hitler meeting, *Die Grunen* points out, came in the context of British and French efforts to rearm, in violation of the Versailles treaty, and it was their arms buildup, not their pacifism, that gave Hitler the nominal excuse to rearm Germany. Chamberlain's strategy, backed by French premier Edouard Daladier, was designed to turn Hitler's designs eastward to the Soviet Union, where it was hoped the anti-Bolshevik Nazi would find an outlet for his bellicose urges. "The policy was not a peace policy, but a classic European war policy," concludes the Greens. But it didn't work, and somehow Chamberlain went down in history as a naive pacifist, rather than just wrong.

## Socialists look to '84

Presidential politics occupied the 100 or so delegates to the Socialist Party (SP) convention Labor Day weekend in New York. In the 1976 presidential election the SP ran former Milwaukee mayor and national party chair Frank Zeidler; in 1980 it fielded the War Resisters' League's David McReynolds. But looking to '84 the convention delegates appeared ready to consider abandoning the notion of a separate SP slate, and authorized the party's hierarchy to negotiate with the Citizens' Party, California's Peace and Freedom Party, Wisconsin's Farm and Labor Party and Vermont's Liberty Union about running a joint presidential ticket. There had been some sentiment for endorsing Citizens Party candidate Barry Commoner in the '80 race, and since then SP and Citizens' representatives have spent time discussing a joint venture.

The modern day Socialist Party came out of the Debs Caucus of the Norman Thomas era party, the only faction to support unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam in the early days of the anti-war movement. The September convention saw long-time party leader Zeidler step down as chair, to be succeeded by co-chairs William Shakalis of Cambridge, Mass., and Margaret Feigin of Los Angeles.

## Planned Parenthood purged

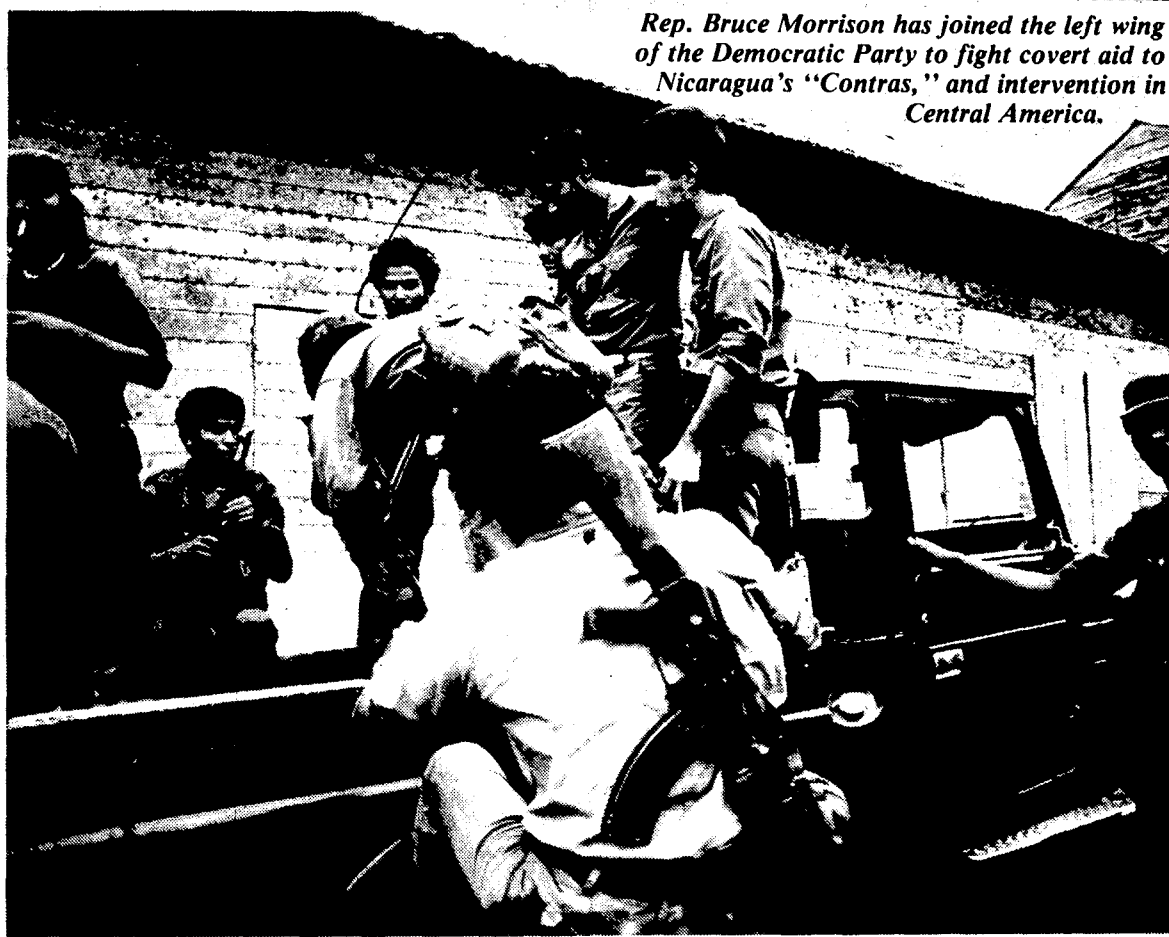
Last week in these pages we heralded the unexpected inclusion of 28 minority, women's and environmental advocacy groups in the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC), a federal employees fundraising drive the Reagan administration had tried to limit to health and welfare organizations. The applause was apparently premature. At the end of the week the Office of Personnel Management announced that Planned Parenthood would be excluded from the campaign, thanks to intense lobbying by anti-abortion groups. Planned Parenthood had raised \$500,000 annually through the CFC.

Meanwhile, the Urban Institute reports that a survey of 6,900 non-profit organizations showed that the groups are being forced to resort to fees, charges and dues to offset federal budget cutbacks. More than half of the groups surveyed had suffered federal budget cuts, and in the last year alone one-third had initiated or increased charges for their services. At the same time, the study found that the Reagan economy is forcing more people to turn to the non-profits for assistance. More than 40 percent of the groups reported increased demand for their services between 1980 and 1982, with the rise most notable among advocacy, litigation, employment and training groups—the non-profit sector reporting the sharpest cuts in federal support.

## Video vendetta

The Soviet downing of Korean Air Flight 007 was widely deplored, but at least one business has found a way to capitalize on it. United Press International reported last week that University Arcade at the University of Texas had created three video games on the jetliner theme. The games allow players to shoot at Soviet leaders and "aggressive Soviet airships," demand apologies from the Soviet Union for downing a civilian jet and protect the U.S. from "the Communist mutant from outer space, Andropov." Reports that U.S. delegate Charles Lichenstein had ordered the games installed at the United Nations could not be confirmed.

—Joan Walsh



Rep. Bruce Morrison has joined the left wing of the Democratic Party to fight covert aid to Nicaragua's "Contras," and intervention in Central America.

## Bruce Morrison still left, but loyal, Democrat

(Editor's note: This is one in an occasional In These Times series on freshman Rep. Bruce Morrison since his election last November from Connecticut's Third Congressional District. He was backed largely by labor, minorities, environmentalists, feminists the peace movement.)

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—As a member of the left wing of the Democratic Party, Bruce Morrison has stood up against practically every move of Ronald Reagan, fighting harder than most Democrats on military spending and covert aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*, for example.

He is also doggedly carving out a reputation as a loyal Democrat. As president of the House Democratic caucus, Morrison is learning that party loyalty can help in lobbying for his pet issues. But on other issues, party loyalty may have also forced him to quietly compromise.

Morrison hasn't sold out. Instead, he is living up to the prediction an Americans for Democratic Action lobbyist made last winter: that he would become a dependable liberal Democrat.

Morrison, who eschews labels, wouldn't use the word liberal himself. But both those words are crucial to understanding the position he has staked out in Congress—both its advantages and its limits.

In any case, the New Right has no doubt about him. It despises him. Right-wing senators Jeremiah Denton and Orrin Hatch have identified Morrison as a chief target in their crusade against federal legal aid. Morrison denies their charge that, as director of New Haven Legal Assistance Association, he legally used federal funds for political lobbying.

The vendetta doesn't bother him, though. "I think I should be honored to be on that enemies list," he says. "These guys are two of the most mean-spirited people I have ever seen."

His political standing may have helped him push a compromise through the House Banking Committee last spring to target hundreds of millions of dollars in housing aid to poor tenants through Omnibus Housing Bill. Morrison backed the targetting idea after meeting with New Haven-area tenants' rights activists. Then he played "an extremely active role" in working out the compromise, according to National Low-Income Coalition President Cushing Dolbeare, who lobbies on the issue in Washington.

While he attends Pentagon briefings now, he hasn't softened his opposition to Reagan's military policies, he says. Instead, he has found the "closed system" of military planners lost in a "never-never land" where the U.S. can win a protracted nuclear exchange. He has joined Sen. Gary Hart at an anti-MX missile rally and lobbied hard against funds for the weapon's deployment, marshalled support for the nuclear freeze resolution and has repeatedly spoken out and voted against military intervention in Central America.

Local business owners, who almost exclusively backed Morrison's Republican opponent in 1982, have begun uttering cautious praise for the freshman Congressman's "effort" in office, largely because of Morrison's appointment this spring as one of three legislative liaisons to a recently formed group of more than 100 corporate executives called the Democratic Business Council. Along with Sen. Bill Bradley and Rep. Bill Alexander, Morrison will help inject the ideas of America's business community into the Democratic Party. Morrison insists the project holds great promise for more traditional Democratic constituencies like labor and minorities because the party needs help in developing an economic policy to create jobs.

Morrison raised some eyebrows earlier this year when—like Sam Gejdenson, Ron Dellums and other left-leaning Congressmen—he voted to repeal the bank withholding tax. He denies giving in to U.S. banks' well-financed lobbying.

And Morrison says he genuinely believed the measure would have unfairly "hit over the head" the law-abiding 90 percent who feel the government is coming after them again. The bill aimed to tax individuals' bank accounts to stop tax cheaters from filing false claims.

Morrison got some criticism from black supporters when his district office interviewed more than 20 applicants for an unadvertised job opening, and all of the candidates were white. The incident was one of several that led a black caseworker—one of

## Morrison is learning that party loyalty can help in lobbying.

two blacks out of 12 in the office—to leave his position.

Morrison's Democratic loyalty also led him to back the incumbent white Democratic mayor—who has an unpopular record on affirmative action—against a black Republican in this year's New Haven mayoral campaign. The city's Democratic machine backed Morrison's opponent in last year's party primary and some party functionaries even supported his Republican rival in the general election.

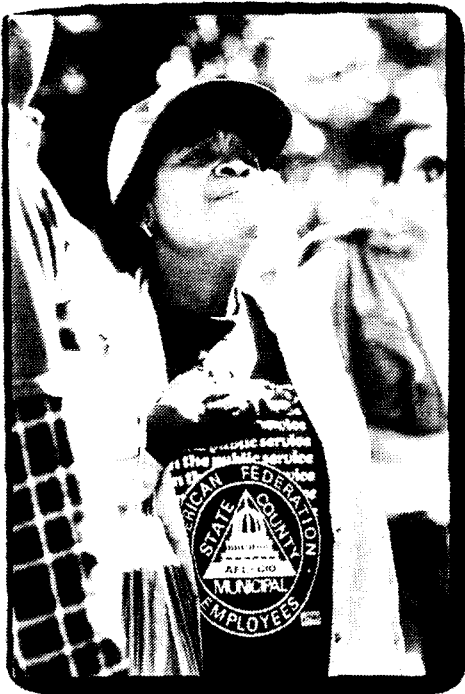
But Morrison has since made his peace with the mayor and his supporters. When asked about the upcoming mayoral election, Morrison emphasized that the black Republican challenger receives most of his support from the conservative state Republican Party.

—Paul Bass



## WOMEN

# AFSCME's win sets stage for pay equity revolution



Of AFSCME's one million members, 400,000 are women.

By Joan Walsh

CHICAGO

**T**HE DECISIVE SEPTEMBER 16 pay equity victory in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' (AFSCME) lawsuit against the state of Washington could turn out to be women workers' Emancipation Proclamation—nearly as liberating and potentially as serious a blow to prevailing wage inequality.

Union and women's movement leaders are hailing Federal District Court Judge Jack Tanner's verdict with superlatives. His ruling was about as emphatic as AFSCME could have hoped, finding "overwhelming" evidence that the state had engaged in "pervasive, intentional" discrimination against women workers when paying them an average of 20 percent less than men doing jobs of comparable skill, value and responsibility. Sometime in November Tanner will decide on a financial award, which could amount to more than \$500 million in back pay alone.

"I'm delighted, but I'm not surprised," said an AFSCME attorney in the case, Winn Newman. "This is the way the case should have gone. It breaks the back of wage discrimination." Coalition of Labor Union Women leader and AFL-CIO Vice-President Joyce Miller called the verdict "an absolutely fantastic victory, something we can all hang our hats on." And American Federation of Government Employees political director Jane McMichael, former head of the National Women's Political Caucus, predicts the Washington case will be "a roadmap for others who want to work on this issue," a forecast advanced by many active in labor and women's issues.

The 1979 San Jose city employees strike grabbed the national spotlight for the pay equity movement. A 1981 Supreme Court ruling in the case of *County of Washington vs. Gunther* enlisted Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in the cause—it was found to prohibit wage discrimination even in non-identical jobs. But AFSCME's Washington effort has in many ways defined the terms of the comparable worth battle.

In 1973 the union successfully lobbied the state for the first comparable worth study in the country. Completed in 1974, the job evaluation survey found that

Washington's women workers were paid an average of \$175 less per month than men doing comparable jobs. Entry level clerk typists and warehouse workers, for example, were found to do jobs requiring comparable skill levels and accountability, yet salary levels for typists—almost exclusively women—were 10 grades lower than for predominantly male warehouse workers.

It took more than a year, but in 1976 lame duck Gov. Dan Evans proposed a \$7 million appropriation in the state's 1977-79 budget to begin implementing pay equity. But though his successor Dixie Lee Ray campaigned promising to support the move, she deleted it from her budget proposal once in office. After years of lobbying AFSCME took its wage discrimination complaint to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1981. And a year later, armed with an EEOC right-to-sue letter, the battle moved to the courts in a multi-million dollar lawsuit on behalf of 15,000 women employees charging the state with violating the federal Civil Rights Act, the state's Equal Rights Amendment and its Civil Service Act. AFSCME witnesses included Carter administration Labor Secretary Ray Marshall and EEOC head Eleanor Holmes Norton—who were pushing their agencies toward making pay equity a federal priority before Ronald Reagan's election—along with Gov. Evans.

## Determining comparable worth.

The early stages of the Washington drama have been acted out elsewhere in the country, as comparable worth jumped onto the agenda of major organizations like the National Organization for Women and the AFL-CIO in the last several years. More than 100 government bodies, including 17 states, have initiated or completed job evaluation studies, the first step in determining the comparable worth of different job categories and achieving pay equity. All of the surveys use a similar method, sometimes known as the Hay system, after employment consultants Hay Associates, to classify different jobs and determine what levels of skill and knowledge, problem-solving, accountability and working conditions each requires. Points are assigned in those four categories, and jobs that wind up with about the same point totals are considered of comparable worth to an employer, and thus should be paid at comparable rates.

The Hay system is frequently criticized by women's groups for sex bias. It routinely rates mechanical equipment used in male-dominated jobs as more complicated—requiring more skill—than office equipment, for example, and rarely considers the problems of office work: stress, overcrowding and the health risks associated with computer and word-processing equipment. But despite the criticism, studies using the Hay system and similar job evaluation methods have almost uniformly identified discrepancies between salaries paid to men and women doing jobs of comparable responsibility and worth.

Armed with these job evaluation studies, unions, employee associations and women's groups have pressed for pay equity on several fronts—in collective bargaining, by lobbying for state or municipal legislation or by bringing litigation. Despite the precedent set in the 1981 *Gunther* case, only AFSCME has initiated litigation under Title VII. AFSCME has

also—along with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Hospital and Health Care Workers, the American Nurses Association, the International Union of Electricians (UE) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA)—made pay equity a bargaining issue around the country. The tactic has made progress for state workers in Connecticut, Florida, Maine and New York and city employees in Burlington, Vt., Los Angeles, Spokane, Colorado Springs, Virginia Beach and Long Beach, Calif.

Lobbying for comparable worth legislation has been successful in some states, most notably Minnesota, Idaho and New Mexico, where state legislatures passed bills mandating pay equity for jobs of comparable worth and, most important, appropriated funds to begin phasing in pay increases for women in underpaid classifications. Such legislation without equity funds has tended to be toothless. Currently 15 states have comparable worth laws on the books, some decades-old, but without a budget allocation they've meant little to women workers. In a survey of states with comparable worth laws for Hawaii's Industrial Relations Center, economist Alice Cook was "unable to uncover any serious attempt to require employers in either the public or private sector to pay equal wages for comparable work."

## "Title VII's the vehicle."

AFSCME's victory will therefore likely win converts to its litigation strategy. Attorney Winn Newman, along with leaders of the National Committee on Pay Equity, has long contended that additional legislation was unnecessary. His Washington state success confirms his belief that "Title VII is the vehicle. The problem is that nobody is litigating under it." AFSCME has a lawsuit pending against Connecticut, and has filed the EEOC complaints against Hawaii and Wisconsin and the cities of Los Angeles, Phila-

The ruling was as emphatic as AFSCME could have hoped. "Overwhelming" evidence proved Washington state engaged in "pervasive, intentional" sex discrimination.

delphia and Chicago.

One obstacle to pay equity litigation is cost. To this point, with the remedy phase of the trial still to come and an appeal likely, AFSCME estimates it has already spent \$400,000 to \$500,000 on the Washington case. But with Tanner's verdict, the union anticipates that the state will be forced to cover those legal fees.

Women and union leaders believe AFSCME's victory will encourage other groups to bring pay equity suits. But the more important outcome may be that states, seeing Washington's loss and the enormous remedy award likely to result, will begin to implement pay equity themselves. "I think the Washington case will encourage voluntary compliance now," predicts Joy Ann Grune of the National Committee on Pay Equity. Illinois Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie (D-Chicago), sponsor of a House bill that would commit Il-

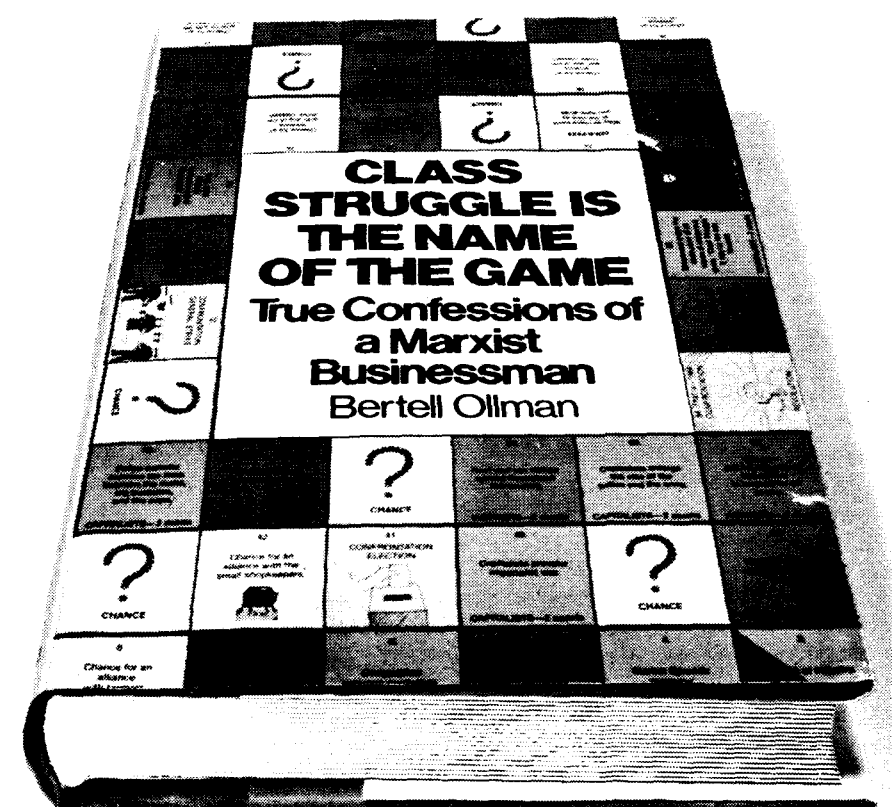
Continued on page 6

## "Who would have thought class struggle could be such fun?"\*

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# Begin

Continued from page 2

1955-67, Shamir directed MOSSAD's European operations from his Paris headquarters. During this period, Israel's close alliance with France blossomed, since both countries shared a common interest in stemming the rise of militant Arab nationalist movements. France wanted to maintain control over northern Africa and the western Mediterranean, and Israel was prepared to police the eastern Mediterranean.

Their collaboration during the 1956 invasion of Egypt to topple President Nasser was the most obvious expression of this alliance. Less well known is the invaluable assistance that MOSSAD gave France through its contacts in the various liberation movements throughout North Africa. For example, an attempted military coup against King Hassan of Morocco failed, primarily because of MOSSAD's early identification of the conspirators. By the time of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, when De Gaulle severed the alliance with Israel, the prestige of MOSSAD's Paris office had grown enormously.

Shamir joined Begin's Herut Party in 1969. As a reward for encouraging some of his old underground comrades to enter the party, Shamir was brought into Herut's Knesset (parliament) faction after the 1973 elections. When Likud came to power in 1977, Shamir was appointed speaker of the Knesset. Following Moshe Dayan's resignation as foreign minister in October 1979 and the subsequent inter-coalition jockeying for a successor, Shamir was appointed to replace Dayan. But an informed source close to Herut told *In These Times* that Shamir was at the bottom of Begin's list of candidates due to his distrust of Shamir's "capabilities."

On foreign policy issues, Shamir has unabashedly upheld a hawkish line. He opposed Begin's peace agreement with Sadat because it meant abandoning Israeli settlements in Sinai. His tough approach to the issue of retaining the West Bank and Gaza Strip is reflected in a remark he made last year: "The land of Eretz [Greater] Israel is our. Why? Because."

Lacking Begin's charismatic power, Shamir will find it more difficult to rally the Likud troops for the next election, which will probably occur next spring. Meanwhile, the interim arrangement with the coalition partners will have to withstand pressures arising from a deteriorating economy and the difficult situation in Lebanon. Looming over Shamir will be the long shadow of Ariel Sharon, whose appetite for power continues unabated. Having thrown his support behind Shamir in the leadership contest, Sharon will likely be rewarded with the chairmanship of the crucial Ministerial Committee on Settlements. For the 54-year-old Sharon, this position will serve merely as a stepping-stone toward his eventual bid for

party leadership. Shamir's performance in the next election will determine the speed with which Sharon moves toward his ultimate goal.

During Begin's reign, massive changes have been wrought in Israeli politics. The West Bank has virtually been annexed, thus eliminating any foreseeable Arab military threat to Israel. At the same time, Begin's demagogic appeals to blue-collar voters, coupled with the deepening repression of the Palestinian population, have led to an erosion of Israeli democracy and of the social democratic structure on which the state was built.

If Begin's health permits, he will likely be called upon to help Shamir fend off a determined challenge from the Labour opposition. The right-wing forces will need more years in power to ensure that their policies irrevocably alter Labour's three-decade rule. The coming battle will be a cruel one since both sides believe that the next election will be a fight for the nation's soul.

Barry Cohen is on the staff of the *New Statesman* (London) and writes on foreign affairs for publications in Europe and North America.

# Equity

Continued from page 5

Illinois to pay equity, agrees. "I would hope that the court decision will make [pay equity opponents] realize that what we don't choose to do ourselves may be done to us," Currie said.

But Washington will almost certainly appeal Tanner's verdict, and other states will likely wait for the outcome of the litigation before committing themselves to adjust the job classification and salary discrimination that pay equity advocates condemn. States and other employers claim that the market, not discrimination, has determined that jobs considered women's work command lower pay and, according to Newman, that line of defense held in pre-Gunther cases.

What made the Washington case unique, however, was that a judge backed the argument that prevailing wage rates for sex-segregated jobs were the result of historic discrimination, even if the state wasn't still deliberately segregating women in lower-paying positions. With most women still clustered in occupations that are 70 percent female, patterns established in an era when employers openly—and legally—hired men and women for separate jobs obviously still operate. In the Washington case, AFSCME introduced old newspaper classified ads to show that the state once advertised job openings in help-wanted sections that were divided between men's and women's work.

If that interpretation of Title VII holds, and Newman is confident it will, both public and private sector employers are vulnerable to legal attack. Comments Newman: "These suits are ripe for bringing."

# Mideast

Continued from page 3

Powers resolution, if accepted, will legitimate and extend it. The administration will be able to use the War Powers authorization in the same manner that President Lyndon Johnson used the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of 1964.

Reagan's potential Democratic opponents in the 1984 presidential race have tried to outdo him in backing Israel and American involvement in Lebanon. Ohio Sen. John Glenn, the one Democratic candidate who has shown signs of independence from the right-wing Zionist lobby, used the occasion of Lebanese fighting to announce that, if elected, he would move the American embassy to Jerusalem in the occupied territories and would not follow an "even-handed" policy toward Israel.

Among peace groups, there have been some murmurings, especially by religious organizations like the American Friends Service Committee, but most American peace organizations, in the words of one activist, "won't touch the Mideast with a 10-foot pole." Some fear that if they take a position opposed to the Israeli government, they will lose important Jewish liberal support. Others simply fear they will become so embroiled in controversy that they will be unable to work on other issues.

For instance, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has several associates in its Washington office working on Central American or general military policy, but no one working on Arab-Israeli issues. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy rejected the membership application of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (AADC), chaired by former Sen. James Abou-essk. The AADC is the principal pro-Palestinian lobby in the U.S. and one of the few organizations working to end Amer-

ican intervention in Lebanon.

But the Reagan administration's use of American troops in Lebanon may soon shake up the peace movement. There were already some signs of change last week. IPS' Saul Landau called what he described as an "emergency meeting" of peace activists to plot a strategy for protesting administration policies in Lebanon.

## Administration options.

The administration now has three options in Lebanon. The first, which is the only one that promises peace over the long run, would be to threaten suspension of American military and economic aid in order to force the Gemayel government to rewrite the National Pact and to force Israel to settle its differences with the Syrians and Palestinians. All parties, including the Soviets, could then be brought in to guarantee Lebanon's independence. But it is very unlikely that the Reagan administration, committed to squeezing the Soviets out of the Mideast and to ignoring the Syrians and the PLO, would embark upon this course.

That leaves two other unsatisfactory options. One would be to continue the present course, trying to aid the Gemayel government in establishing its version of sovereignty and the Israelis in establishing their version of security. This option would eventually bring the U.S. into military conflict with Syria if not the Soviet Union.

The other option would be to agree to a *de facto* partition of Lebanon between the Syrians (who would serve as protectors of the Moslems, Druze and Palestinians), the Israelis and the Christians. The Christians would maintain control of Beirut, yet little else. And the stage would be set for another war, whenever one of the powers sought to expand its holdings. Lebanon would also cease to exist.

If pressure at home mounts, the U.S. is likely to shift from the second to the third option, but not to the first.

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## WEST GERMANY

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# PERSHING II CRUISE MISSILES NEIN!



15-22.10.83

## Peace movement adds Third World groups to its cause

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

**A**T AN APRIL WEST GERMAN peace movement action conference, Sandinista youth leader Evelyn Pinto set off an astounding five minutes of wildly enthusiastic applause by announcing that Nicaraguans would demonstrate against the Pershing II and Cruise missiles in October in solidarity with the European peace movement.

As October approaches, some German peace activists think the Nicaraguans may be too busy for such a demonstration. But Pinto's declaration, and the response it got, show that the connection between the Euromissiles and the Third World is strongly felt, at least in parts of Central America and the German peace movement.

The wing of the peace movement that has gone farthest with its political analysis is convinced that the new NATO Euromissiles are, in effect, aimed against the Third World. This is literally true for the Cruise missiles to be stationed in Comiso, in Sicily, where their range will reach to Iran and Chad. It is also indirectly true for the Pershing II missiles to be stationed in Germany.

The Pershing II is a potential "decapitation" weapon that is supposed to have the accuracy—and soon may have the range—to take out Soviet Command and control centers in Eastern Europe and European Russia. It will be a "gun at the head" of the Soviet Union meant to keep the Russians from providing arms or any other kind of aid to liberation movements in the Third World. Since there is no way the NATO Euromissiles can in fact defend Western Europe from Soviet SS-20 missiles (or from the "Soviet invasion" that no seriously informed person believes is a real danger), this seems to be their real strategic purpose.

The idea is to isolate all Third World revolts so that they can be crushed by the U.S. and its allies, and access to raw materials and other economic assets can be retained.

But the first visible effect of the Reagan

administration's ostensibly anti-Soviet policy has been to cut European aid to the Third World. In the polarized East-West atmosphere, Washington has adopted a "whoever is not with us is against us" posture, and forced its allies to cut off even their modest aid to Central American liberation movements. This is the meaning of the extremely significant Williamsburg line, which President Reagan got the Europeans and Japanese to sign last May: "The security of our countries is indivisible and must be approached on a global basis." Both the West German and French governments have dropped their aid to Nicaragua to conform with the "global approach."

Yet West Germany is unlike France in that it has about 4,000 active independent Third World solidarity groups. Their activities range from sending food to starving populations in Africa, to supporting the struggle for human rights in Argentina and collecting money to help arm the Sandinistas. Most of the groups can trace their origins to church projects. Werner Ratz, who represents the Third World Groups in the national Coordination Committee for this fall's anti-missile actions in Germany, comes from a small all-Catholic town in the Rhineland and was politicized by his work with the Christian Democratic labor organizations in Latin America.

The loose confederation of Third World Groups is one of 25 organizations in the fall Coordination and will take part in the Action Week October 15-22. They joined the peace movement relatively late—in the spring of 1982—and only after a great deal of debate and discussion. It was hard, everyone agrees, but their experience illustrates the way the German peace movement has managed to grow not only quantitatively but also qualitatively at the same time. The Third World Groups are not just demonstrating on behalf of Third World peoples alongside the nuclear disarmament movement. Rather, they have brought their own dimension into the movement, helping to spread awareness of the close interrelationship between the arms race and the deepening desperation of Third World peoples.

Still, the different sensibilities and outlooks in the Third World Groups and the peace movement made their merger difficult. In the Third World Groups, there was some initial impatience with pacifists, some feeling that they were Eurocentric, worrying about potential war in Europe as real war rages throughout poor countries. In the peace movement, there was some concern that the Third World Groups—many of which support the armed struggles of Central American or southern African peoples—might not be sufficiently committed to nonviolence.

This is not really a practical problem, however, since Third World Group people seem convinced that nonviolent political protest is all that makes sense politically in countries like Federal Germany. The German Communist Party, for its part, was opposed to raising an issue in the peace movement that "not everybody would understand" and that would thus be divisive. These differences and others were threshed out at length.

### Pulling out the stops.

The European peace movement is the last-ditch battle to stop tearing down Europe's social welfare programs to pay for the American arms buildup (the high interest rates and dollar exchange amount to a tax on other countries) and shift arms expenditures to genuine Third World programs. That is, it is the last-ditch fight against a worldwide war economy—and, probably, worldwide war.

In keeping with the Williamsburg "global approach," German Economic Cooperation Minister Jurgen Warnke has declared that development aid to the Third World must first of all serve West German economic and security interests.

In protest against this policy, the Third World Groups have called for a blockade of the Economic Cooperation Ministry in Bonn on October 21, the next to the last day of the October Action Week—the day devoted to ministries, parliaments, officials and political parties (see calendar). It is likely to be one of the week's "hottest" actions, since the Third World Solidarity people have their own "global approach," which the government is probably particularly anxious to silence and discredit.

In their call for the October 21 blockade, the Third World Groups said that the "stationing of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles is the first step by which NATO will make an atomic war against the Soviet Union wageable and winnable. With this threat, the Soviet Union should be forced worldwide to greater restraint.

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 28-OCTOBER 4, 1983 7

The capitalist states can then pursue undisturbed their business of gaining access to raw materials, markets and cheap labor in the Third World."

The Third World Groups will be calling for:

- "A free Central America" and, specifically, for the immediate payment of aid grants to Nicaragua that have been withheld. They are also objecting to the resumption of aid to the government of El Salvador;

- The right of self-determination of all peoples and, specifically, no arms exports to Third World dictatorships and suspension of West Germany's important cooperation with the Turkish military dictatorship; and

- An end to "NATO's war policy," destruction of all mass annihilation weapons, no new conventional arms buildup and dissolution of military blocs in East and West.

## October Calendar

October is the main month chosen for actions showing opposition to NATO's planned deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in West Germany. Of particular importance is the action decided by the leadership of the German trade union confederation DGB, which has called on its eight million members and all German working people to stop what they are doing and observe a five-minute peace watch at 11:45 a.m. on Wednesday, October 5, under the warning slogan: "It is five minutes before 12 o'clock."

This action has been criticized by the conservative government for approaching "a political general strike." It is welcomed by the Social Democratic peace movement for the same reason.

The DGB will also sponsor an international peace conference in Cologne on October 4-5. Like the SPD, the DGB hopes for a successful outcome to the Geneva negotiations. DGB leaders have stated flatly that no new medium-range missiles should be deployed in Europe.

The greatest concentration of anti-missile protests will take place in Action Week, October 15-22. Most days have themes appealing to special groups that will organize appropriate events on those days throughout the country.

**Saturday, Oct. 15**—Day of Decentralized Actions, which will include the third and final day of a blockade of U.S. military port at Bremerhaven, actions at the Ramstein U.S. air base and at the Frankfurt Book Fair

**Sunday, Oct. 16**—Day of Churches and Religious Groups

**Monday, Oct. 17**—Women's Day

**Tuesday, Oct. 18**—Anti-Militarism and International Solidarity Day

**Wednesday, Oct. 19**—Day of Labor, Business, Farming and Social Institutions

**Thursday, Oct. 20**—Students and Teachers Day

**Friday, Oct. 21**—Day of Ministries, Parliaments, Officials and Political Parties

**Saturday, Oct. 22**—Day of Demonstrations in Bonn and West Berlin and a "human chain" from Stuttgart to Neu Ulm in southern Germany







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SPREAD PERCEPTION, HIS  
ADMINISTRATION HAS  
DONE MORE FOR  
WOMEN THAN ANY  
PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION

## Reagan's stalled crusade

By Steve Askin

**M**UCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about the Reagan administration's efforts to weaken or eliminate the civil rights legislation and court decisions of the '50s and '60s. The scope of these cutbacks is apparent in government action for school integration, equal employment of minorities and women, and other civil rights goals. But there is another side to the story, little noted yet very important. The history of civil rights enforcement under Reagan is also a case study in the power of the permanent federal bureaucracy, the strength of liberal lobbying groups and the obstacles facing any political administration (whatever its political goals) that aims to radically alter existing government policies.

Although many of President Reagan's appointees are deeply committed to turning back the clock on major civil rights programs, they are discovering that they cannot put their conservative "reforms" into practice without paying an unacceptably high political price.

Thus, the Reagan administration has failed so far to enact major changes in the basic federal civil rights laws and regulations, though it has been able to sharply weaken their enforcement. In short, the administration and the civil rights movement have entered a stalemate, with each forcing the other into a sort of holding pattern.

Reagan's first and best known civil rights political test came in 1981. The 1965 Voting Rights Act was up for renewal. Black and Hispanic leaders assumed that conservative Southern Republicans like Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) would, with Reagan's support, limit or eliminate voting rights protection.

It didn't happen. Instead, voting rights became the first significant congressional defeat for Reagan's conservative coalition. In the face of political pressure, much of it from moderate Republicans who did not want their party labelled "anti-civil rights," Reagan belatedly reversed himself and supported retention of

the voting rights law. Most black political leaders believe that the voting rights victory was an essential prerequisite for the massive black voter registration drives that began in 1982 and are now a vital part of the Democratic strategy for the 1984 presidential elections.

### The next battle

A less visible, but equally important fight is underway now. The issue is affirmative action, a program with far narrower public support than voting rights. Reagan administration officials currently find themselves in a race against time—an unstated yet very real self-imposed deadline expiring when presidential campaigning begins in earnest early next year—in their drive to weaken equal employment guidelines for federal contractors.

At issue are rules saying that corporations receiving government contracts worth more than \$50,000 must develop formal programs for employing minorities and women in jobs from which they were previously excluded. Because government is by far the nation's largest purchaser of goods and services, these rules affect almost all large and medium-sized manufacturing firms, along with many service businesses and smaller industrial companies. When effectively enforced, these rules are the most important source of pressure for reversing the consequences of past employment discrimination.

Unlike voting rights legislation, which has a broad base of support and relatively few open critics, affirmative action is highly controversial. Even among people who support the civil rights movement on most other issues, there are those who view affirmative action as inherently un-American. And these rules on federal contracts appear to be very easy to change, because they are contained in executive orders that can be altered by the president without congressional action.

Affirmative action's controversial premise is that group remedies are required to undo discrimination against black people or other "affected classes." Affirmative action's supporters insist that employment discrimination cannot

be ended—and minority group members cannot achieve economic equality—unless employers are held accountable through the use of numerical hiring standards.

Affirmative action's most fervent critics—including Reagan's chief civil rights enforcer, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds—tend to argue that any set of goals and timetables for increasing minority or women's employment "discriminates" against white males. In Reynolds' view, recompense for past discrimination should go only to particular individuals who can prove that they were personally victimized by discriminatory practices. More moderate critics accept goals and guidelines, but argue against minority hiring requirements.

The Reagan administration came to power with a clearly defined agenda concerning anti-affirmative action. In the Justice Department, Reynolds and other political appointees so intensely oppose affirmative action that they have refused

to develop goals and timetables for their own hiring of minorities and women, despite federal rules requiring them to do so and repeated demands for compliance from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Opposition to affirmative action was the most important credential for Reagan's appointee to chair the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (USCRC) and his more recent nominees—now facing difficult Senate confirmation fights—for seats on the USCRC.

### Firestorm of dissent

Yet Washington insiders now believe that the administration's crusade against affirmative action may have already been derailed. In addition to the predictable resistance from civil rights, labor and women's groups, the administration's effort was severely damaged by an unexpected firestorm of dissent from some Reagan appointees, and by far quieter resistance by civil servants inside some federal agencies.

### Corporations cool to plans

One of the Reagan administration's biggest equal employment problems was dramatically demonstrated in June at a two-day Washington seminar for corporate and government EEO officers sponsored by the Bureau of National Affairs and the Industrial Relations Research Association.

The audience consisted, for the most part, of the supposed beneficiaries of "regulatory reforms" in civil rights enforcement—the corporate officials who will no longer be burdened with what some conservatives insist is "excessive" EEO paperwork. Though they included many minority group members and women, the majority were white men.

Yet participants listened coolly to speeches by top administration civil rights officials. Some exchanged skeptical glances as Justice Department

Civil Rights Division head William Bradford Reynolds first insisted there is "no substance whatsoever to the politically motivated [charge] that we have abandoned" EEO enforcement, and then asserted that numerical hiring goals and timetables are "morally repugnant." Reynolds suggested that hiring goals are a new form of discrimination, adding that using them to overcome past bias is like "prescribing alcohol to get beyond alcoholism."

These same corporate officials applauded enthusiastically as Congressional Black Caucus Foundation executive director Francesca Farmer denounced the "patina of lawlessness" in Reynolds' condemnation of the laws he is supposed to enforce, and the "relentless negative drumbeat set in motion by this administration" against fair employment.

But William McEwan, a black executive in charge of equal opportunity affairs for the Monsanto Corporation received the warmest response. Ewan turned his sardonic wit aga-





The Institute for Food and Development Policy offers uncommon approaches to the old problems of world hunger:

**Food First.** Virtually every country has the resources to feed its people. The causes of hunger are political.

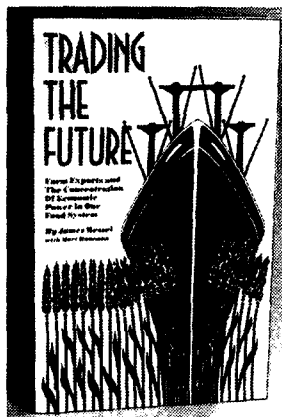
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The American food system has come a long way since the days of the open frontier and the Homestead Act. Today the top 1 percent of farms receive 66 percent of farm income, while a handful of major corporations dominate virtually every sector of the U.S. food economy. *Trading the Future* traces these dramatic changes through an investigation of the boom in farm exports over the last decade. It demonstrates that this boom, touted as a savior of farmers and the world's hungry, actually accelerated the crisis in American farming and increased the concentration of corporate control over our whole food economy. *Trading the Future* reveals that the very ground rules of our economy have led farmers to the paradoxical crisis they face today—record harvests coupled with record farm bankruptcies. 260 pages (est.) with tables, graphs, footnotes, and bibliography. ISBN 0-935028-13-7. \$8.95 paper (A).



**What Difference Could a Revolution Make?**  
Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua  
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This widely acclaimed study documents the transformation of Nicaragua's food and farming system from a brutal system under Somoza to one that meets the needs of the poor majority. Collins provides up-to-date information on the new government's land reform and food policies, analyzing the dilemmas encountered by the Sandinistas as they work against a legacy of injustice and poverty to create democratic institutions. 185 pages with tables, charts, and notes. ISBN 0-935028-10-2. \$5.95 paper (A).

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*Latinamerica Press*

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A vivid canvas of contemporary Nicaragua emerges as Nicaraguans from all walks of life—campesinos, unionists, government officials, church activists—discuss how the revolution has changed their lives. In describing Nicaragua's approaches to the toughest problems of democracy, participation, and power, and the strides made against disease, hunger, and illiteracy, they reveal why Nicaragua's revolution defies stereotypes and shatters the myths created in Washington. 38 dramatic photos by Peter Barnes, Susan Meiselas, Margaret Randall, and Jamey Stillings. 120 pages with 38 photos, and resource guide. ISBN 0-935028-14-5. \$4.95 paper (A).







**Diet for a Small Planet:**  
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This completely revised edition of Lappé's bestseller draws on more than a decade of research to explain how political and economic systems keep people hungry and how consciously choosing what we eat can help us gain greater control over our lives. 432 pages with charts, tables, resource guide, and recipes. ISBN 0-345-29524-2. \$3.50 paper (B).

**World Hunger:**  
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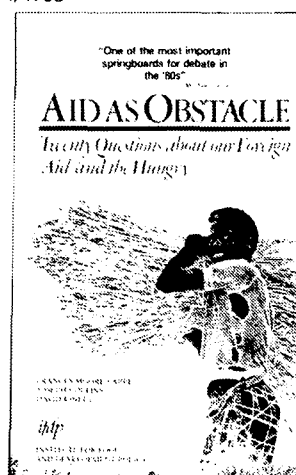
A concise, easy-to-read introduction to the complex political, economic and ecological issues at the root of world hunger, using concrete examples from around the world to challenge the most common misunderstandings. Revised 4th edition, 4th printing. 77 pages with photos and notes. ISBN 0-935028-00-5. \$2.95 paper (A).

*El Hambre en el Mundo: Diez Mitos* (Spanish Edition, *World Hunger: Ten Myths*). Published by Copider/Terra Nova. 72 pages with resource guide. \$2.00 paper (B).

**Food First:**  
Beyond the Myth of Scarcity  
by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins with Cary Fowler

This landmark study draws on a worldwide network of research to demystify such complex and vital issues as: the effects of overpopulation, the failure of the green revolution to alleviate hunger, and the influence of multinational agribusiness and U.S. food exports on world hunger. A comprehensive international reference point for anyone interested in the global food problem or development issues. 620 pages with appendices, and notes. ISBN 0-345-29818-7. \$3.95 paper (B).

*Comer es Primero: Mas alla del Mito de la Escasez* (Spanish Edition, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*). Published by Siglo XXI. 410 pages with resource guide. \$9.95 paper (B).



**Aid as Obstacle:**  
Twenty Questions About Our Foreign Aid and the Hungry  
by Frances Moore Lappé, Joseph Collins, and David Kinley

A controversial and stimulating exposé of how foreign aid reinforces the political and economic structures that keep people in underdeveloped countries hungry. Dozens of case studies document how the very nature of official top-down aid strengthens the power structures that keep poor people from securing the resources they need for survival. Also includes a primer on the aid establishment. 192 pages with photos and charts. ISBN 0-935028-07-2. \$5.95 paper (A).

**Development Debacle:**  
The World Bank in the Philippines  
by Walden Bello, David Kinley, and Elaine Elinson

This bold critique of third world development strategies, based on the Bank's own secret documents, shows how billions in aid to the Philippines over the past decade is leading to economic and social disaster for the majority of Filipinos. A joint publication of the Philippine Solidarity Network and IFDP. 270 pages. ISBN 0-935028-12-9. \$6.95 paper (A).

**Against the Grain:**  
The Dilemma of Project Food Aid  
by Tony Jackson with Deborah Eade

To many Americans, food aid sounds like the ideal humanitarian project: the farm surpluses we have to warehouse here in the United States can be shipped to the third world to feed the hungry. But *Against the Grain* shows how this food aid more often hurts the very people who are supposed to benefit. This thoroughly documented study, published by Oxfam-England, takes a critical look at the aid establishment's \$3-billion-a-year enterprise. 132 pages with photos, bibliography, and notes. ISBN 0-85598-063-X. \$9.95 paper (B).



**Circle of Poison:**  
Pesticides and People in a Hungry World  
by David Weir and Mark Schapiro

Every minute someone in the third world is poisoned by pesticides, many banned in their country of origin. *Circle of Poison* is the first major investigative report to document the global scandal of corporate and government exportation of pesticides and the threat posed to consumers and workers throughout the world. 101 pages with charts, photos, and tables. ISBN 0-935028-09-9. \$3.95 paper (A).

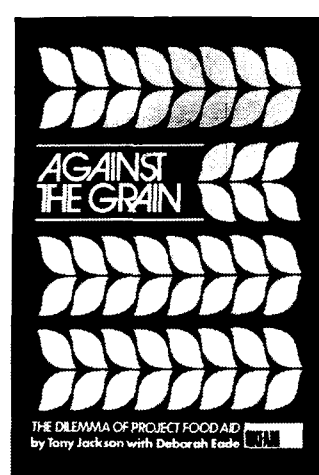
*Circulo de Veneno: Los plaguicidas y el hombre en un mundo hambriento* (Spanish Edition, *Circle of Poison*) published by Copider/Terra Nova. 136 pages with appendices and tables. \$3.95 paper (B).

**A Growing Problem:**  
Pesticides and the Third World Poor  
by David Bull

Pesticides in the third world bring the promise of higher yields, more food for the hungry and freedom from insect-borne disease. But they also poison farmworkers, increase third world dependency on foreign inputs and threaten the livelihood of the rural poor. Based on extensive research in the third world, *A Growing Problem* examines the intricacies of the pesticide problem in the rural countryside and concludes with a series of practical proposals for action by governments, industries, and international organizations. Researched and published by Oxfam-England. ISBN 0-85598-064-8. \$9.95 paper (B).

**Seeds of the Earth:**  
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This shocking study reveals how the rapid erosion of our agricultural genetic base poses a serious threat to the earth's future food supply. "Highly recommended for libraries and should be read by the widest audience possible."—*Library Journal*. Published by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation and the International Coalition for Development Action. 126 pages with tables, footnotes, and corporate profiles. ISBN 0-9690149-3-7. \$7.00 paper (A).

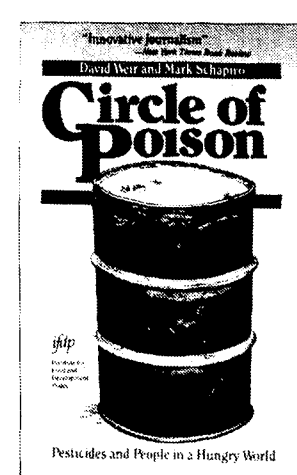


**Needless Hunger:**  
Voices from a Bangladesh Village  
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The global analysis of *Food First* is vividly captured here in a single country, in a single village. This examination of the origins of an inequitable political and economic system in which hunger is widespread is illustrated with stories of both the village landowners and peasants who live on the margin of survival. 72 pages with photos and notes. ISBN 0-935028-03-X. \$3.50 paper (A).

**A Quiet Violence**  
by Betsy Hartmann and James Boyce

An in-depth portrayal of village life in Bangladesh, based on Boyce's and Hartman's experiences during an anthropological fellowship from Yale. Suffused with anecdotes and intimate stories, this report reveals human joys, intricacies and tragic events in the lives of Katni villagers. 275 pages (est.). ISBN 0-935028-16-1. \$9.95 paper.



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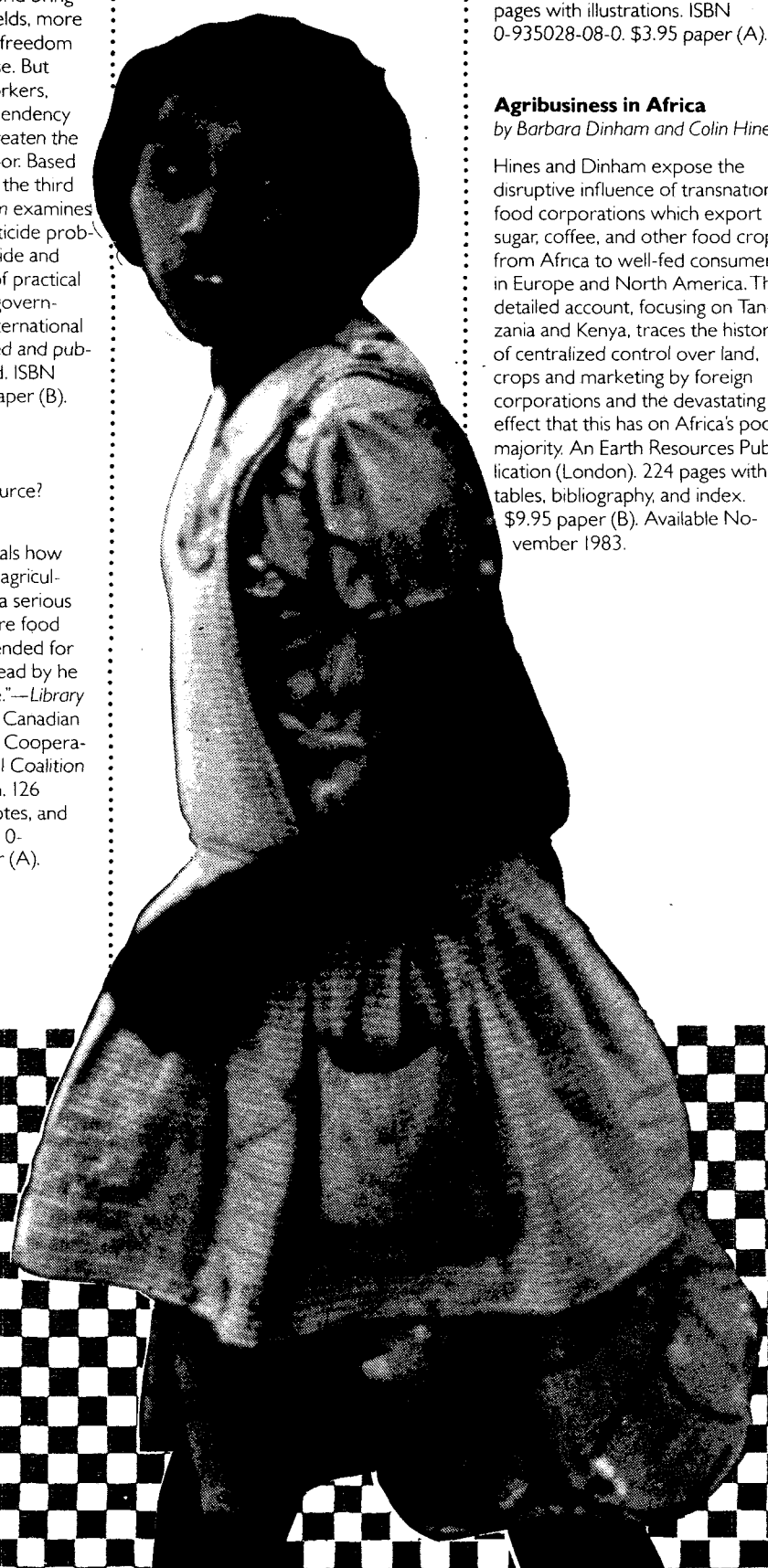
In contrasting the processes by which these two neighboring countries—both claiming to be working toward socialism—are seeking to achieve food security, this unique study supplies a stimulating discussion of some of the most elusive, yet important, questions of development. 126 pages with maps. ISBN 0-935028-05-6. \$4.75 paper (A).

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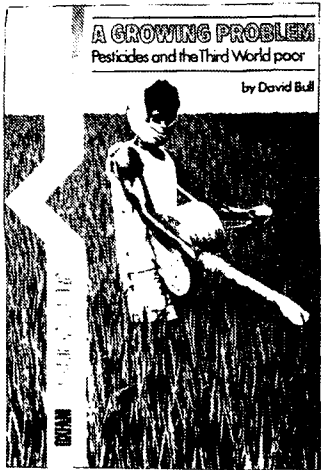
This rare inside look at the efforts of workers in a new African nation to overcome the legacy of colonialism can serve as an introduction to both the problems of self management and the process of social change in contemporary Africa. 60 pages with illustrations. ISBN 0-935028-08-0. \$3.95 paper (A).

**Agribusiness in Africa**  
by Barbara Dinham and Colin Hines

Hines and Dinham expose the disruptive influence of transnational food corporations which export sugar, coffee, and other food crops from Africa to well-fed consumers in Europe and North America. This detailed account, focusing on Tanzania and Kenya, traces the history of centralized control over land, crops and marketing by foreign corporations and the devastating effect that this has on Africa's poor majority. An Earth Resources Publication (London). 224 pages with tables, bibliography, and index. \$9.95 paper (B). Available November 1983.







### Food for Beginners

by Susan George and Nigel Paige

This irreverent primer traces the history of food and agriculture from primitive hunter-gatherer societies to present-day agribusiness. Like other documentary comic books in the Writers and Readers Beginner series, *Food for Beginners* tackles the complex economic issues with insightful humor and careful analysis. 175 illustrated pages with bibliography. ISBN 0-906495-84-9. \$4.95 paper (B).

### Food First Comic:

Exploding the Myth of Scarcity  
by Leonard Rifas

An inquisitive teenager sets out to sift through the confusing and often contradictory myths about world hunger. Her quest is illustrated with wit and imagination by Rifas, publisher of *Educomics*, *Barefoot Gen*, and *All Atomic Comics*. An exceptional introduction to the underlying causes of world hunger, and ways to help end it. 24 pages of original cartooning, based on *Food First* ideas. For junior high and high school students. Four-color cover, footnotes, and action guide. ISBN 0-935028-11-0. \$1.00 paper (A).

### Food First Curriculum Sampler

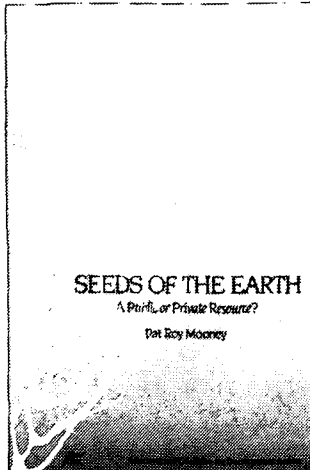
by Laurie Rubin

A week's worth of creative activities to bring the basics about world hunger and our food system to grades four through six. Activities include "a global breakfast" (origins of foods), a world-resource simulation game, and three others. Compiled especially for World Food Day from the upcoming *Food First Curriculum*. 10 pages with illustrations. \$1.00 paper (A).

### What Can We Do?

Food and Hunger: How You Can Make a Difference  
by William Valentine and Frances Moore Lappé

An invaluable action guide to food and hunger issues, this publication includes inspiring interviews with two dozen food activists across North America as well as bibliographies for further reading and lists of other organizations working for change. 60 pages with photos and resources. ISBN 0-935028-06-4. \$2.95 paper (A).



These visually dramatic, 4-page leaflets provide timely information on food and justice issues around the world. The easy-to-read text is complemented by striking photographs and each one includes a complete bibliography and resource list. 5 - \$2; 10 - \$3; 25 - \$6; 50 - \$11.50; 100 - \$17; 500 - \$55.

### El Salvador:

Why are we fighting a war against the hungry?  
by Michael Morrissey

This new and fully revised leaflet focuses on the right of poor Salvadorans to oppose the unjust conditions that keep them hungry. It also critiques El Salvador's land reform and the legitimacy of "free" elections in El Salvador. Over 175,000 of our first edition have been distributed.

### Guatemala:

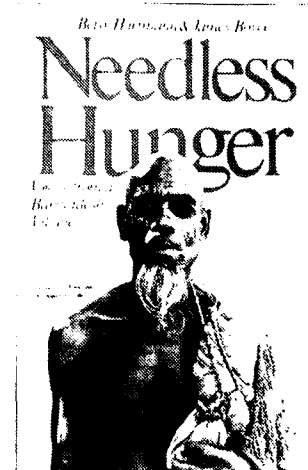
Hungry for Change  
by Nick Allen

The roots of the conflict in Guatemala may be found in the extreme hunger and poverty under which the majority of 7 million Guatemalans live. This Alert describes how U.S. military aid and corporate investments are creating obstacles which keep the mostly Indian population from meeting their basic needs.

### Hunger in America:

Don't Just Blame Reagan

This Action Alert probes the underlying causes of hunger in America, focusing on the failure of our economy to meet people's actual needs for food and jobs. This Alert links record harvests, farm bankruptcies, and rising food prices to the need for us all to rethink our economic priorities.

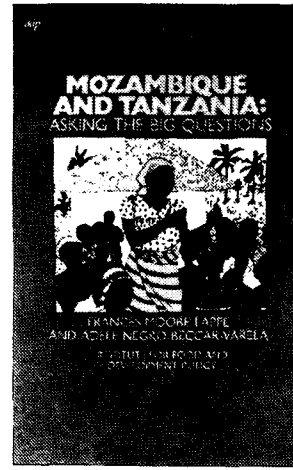


**Hunger Is Not a Myth...** but myths keep us from ending hunger. This two-sided handout, based on our *World Hunger: Ten Myths* book, focuses on eight of the most basic misconceptions about hunger. *Hunger Is Not a Myth...* introduces the real causes of hunger and points the way toward positive change. 5 - \$1; 25 - \$4; 50 - \$6; 100 - \$10; 250 - \$20; 500 - \$32.

### Land Reform: Is It the Answer?

A Venezuelan Peasant Speaks  
by Frances Moore Lappé and Hannes Lorenzen

An interview with Carlos Rojas and an historical overview by Dr. Howard Handelman. 17 pages. \$1.50 paper (A).



### Agrarian Reform and Counter-Reform in Chile

by Joseph Collins

A firsthand look at some of the current economic policies in Chile and their effect on the rural majority. 24 pages with photos and resources. ISBN 0-935028-02-1. \$1.45 paper (A).

### Breaking the Circle of Poison:

The IPM Revolution in Nicaragua  
by Sean Swezey and Rainer Daxl

Entomologist Sean Swezey and Rainer Daxl's 24-page research report is the first documentation of pesticide use in Nicaragua and efforts there to implement a national integrated pest management system. Swezey's work at the National University in León has been successful in reducing pesticide application to cotton plots, alleviating pesticide poisoning and dependency, while maintaining or even increasing yields. 24 pages. \$4.00 paper (A).

## CASTING NEW MOLDS



First Steps toward Worker Control in a Mozambique Steel Factory

A conversation with Frances Moore Lappé and Adolfo Negro Baccar Varela

### Export Agriculture:

An Energy Drain  
by Mort Hantman

This research report documents the real energy costs of U.S. farm exports and debunks the conventional opinion that increasing food exports will counter-balance the costs of imported oil. 50 pages. \$3.00 paper (A).

### Food First Video: "Four Myths of Hunger: An Evening with Frances Moore Lappé and Dr. Joseph Collins,"

filmed in cooperation with Sid and Impact Video. This full color videotape on four of the most fundamental misconceptions about the causes of and solutions to world hunger is an invaluable resource for high school level and above. In this inspiring presentation, Frances and Joe describe their discoveries from research and firsthand observations in many countries, focusing on the myths of scarcity, production, the trade-off between justice and production, and the effects of foreign aid. 35-minute tape with resource guide. 1/2-inch VHS \$86.50, 1/4-inch \$106. purchase only.







**Food First Slideshow/Filmstrip.** This lively audio-visual show brings compelling immediacy to the analysis of world hunger presented in *Food First*. Part I, "Why Hunger?" refutes several common myths about the causes of hunger; then explores how hunger is caused by the concentration of food-producing resources in the hands of a small elite. Part II, "Towards Food Security," discusses the inefficiency of highly concentrated control over resources, and shows how we can learn from the successes and difficulties of people in countries around the world working to achieve food security for all. Whether used as an introduction to the root causes of hunger, or as a foundation for further research into food and agriculture issues, the *Food First Slideshow/Filmstrip* is a stimulating educational resource. A study guide is included. 30 minutes. \$89 (slideshow), \$34 (filmstrip), purchase only.

**Agribusiness Goes Bananas Slideshow.** This slideshow illustrates how multinational corporations and their system of plantation farming have affected the agricultural economy and lives of the Filipino people. Though the Philippines are the setting for this documentary, the patterns examined apply wherever multinational agribusiness exists. Prepared by two Filipino activists who experienced firsthand the efforts of farmers, plantation workers, and tribal Filipinos to regain control over their land. 18 minutes, color. 140 slides with carousel, cassette tape and complete transcript. \$65, purchase only.

About the Institute.

The Institute for Food and Development Policy, also known as Food First, is an independent, not-for-profit research and educational center focusing on issues of food and justice around the world. Founded by Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins in 1975, the Institute investigates the root causes of hunger in a world of plenty. Looking at the policies of both governments and corporations, the Institute asks: What can we do to create social, economic, and political structures that ensure food security for all, now and in the future?



The Institute, which has been hailed as "one of the most established 'food think tanks' in the country" by the *New York Times*, has been credited with playing a key role in changing the global debate on causes of and solutions to world hunger. Changing the debate has moved the global agenda from a debate centering on charity and technology, to one which focuses on poverty and powerlessness—the root causes of hunger.

The Institute also reports on people around the world who are struggling to create food systems that meet the needs of the majority. In 55 countries and 20 languages, Food First materials and investigations are laying the groundwork for more democratically controlled food and farming systems.

Because the Institute accepts no government or corporate funding, it can speak with a strong, independent voice, free from ideological formulas and prevailing policies. The Institute depends upon individual membership contributions and foundation grants to support its work.

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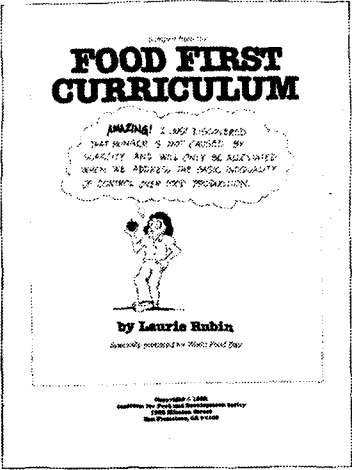
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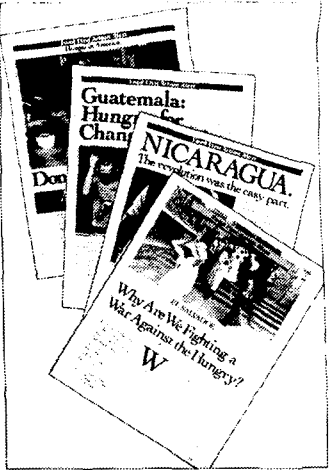
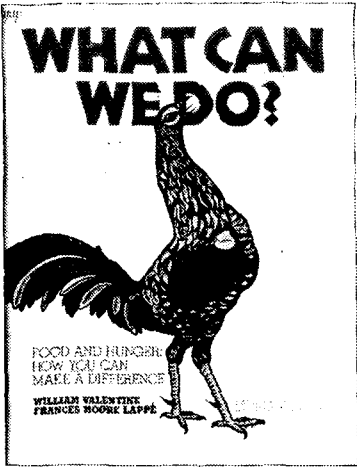
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SO MUCH SO, THAT  
HE WAS ASKING  
SOME OF THOSE WOMEN  
TO VOLUNTARILY  
GIVE UP THEIR  
JOBS TO SOME GUYS.

This united coalition in favor of fair employment confronts a confused and divided Reagan administration.

Civil rights enforcer Reynolds—a corporate lawyer whose views are probably closest to Reagan's own—is seen by the civil rights movement as the leading hatchet man against affirmative action. Through his press secretary, Reynolds refused to be interviewed for this story, explaining his views on affirmative action are too well known to merit further questioning.

Likewise, Reagan's political appointees in the Labor Department—responsible for supervising equal employment compliance by federal contractors—have acted to reduce affirmative action enforcement. But the two civil rights agencies headed by blacks, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (USCRC) have given Reagan trouble, even though the men who head those agencies were chosen for their conservative views.

administration policies with these comments:

- On voluntary compliance: "If it worked, Moses would have come down with 10 guidelines instead of 10 commandments.... Can you imagine how many products we could get out if good faith efforts replaced production timetables?"

- On the Reagan administration: it has "contributed to the free enterprise system" by providing "untold opportunities for attorneys to get very, very rich" debating and litigating over the meaning of vague new regulations.

- On William Bradford Reynolds: "Does he really believe that when he got that job he was the most qualified?"

McEwan argued that people like himself have been misjudged by a Reagan administration, which assumes the job of a corporate EEO manager is to "fend off big government. My job," he said, "is to encourage, cajole, to get our workforce to be more inclusive." Ronald Reagan is "not making my job any easier."

—S.A.

A proposed reduction in affirmative action enforcement has long been the centerpiece of Reagan administration civil rights "regulatory reform." The plan was first floated in August 1981, then withdrawn because many corporate officials joined the civil rights movement in opposing it as too extreme. The plan was revived in April 1982 but withdrawn again after moderate Republicans on Capitol Hill protested that it would further weaken their standing with minority and female voters. Reagan suffered another setback in May of this year, when 12 senators—including three Republicans—sent him a letter calling for withdrawal of the third version of the proposed new regulations.

The fourth round of the battle over these rules—now slightly moderated to calm the critics—will begin this fall.

The first three sets of proposed changes were virtually identical. As presented in May, they contained some provisions with potentially drastic consequences and others that merely imposed petty restrictions on the labor department's own civil rights enforcement staff. One section said that investigators may examine a firm's payroll data only at the company's office and may not take copies back to their own offices. Others included were:

- elimination of all affirmative action requirements for companies with fewer than 100 employees and those doing less than \$100,000 worth of government business;

- virtual elimination of class action suits against employers who discriminate by limiting back pay to individuals who can prove that they were personally victims of discrimination;

- halting the civil rights reviews on major contractors, which have been required before they begin doing government work;

- permitting contractors to obscure their affirmative action performance by combining statistics for separate facilities, combining data for widely disparate job categories and by combining statistics for all minority groups—without distinguishing among black, Hispanic, Asian

and Native American workers; and

- assuming that an employer has fully complied if employment of minority group members equals 80 percent of the local "availability," (this would mean that a company hiring computer programmers in a city where 20 percent of all programmers are black, would be assumed to be hiring fairly as long as at least 16 percent of those hired are black).

In May, EEOC Chairman Clarence Thomas—a sometimes critic of affirmative action and former aide to Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo.)—surprised federal officials and civil rights advocates by breaking sharply with other Reagan appointees. In publicly denouncing the Labor Department's civil rights proposal, he forced the Labor Department to backtrack once again.

At a hearing chaired by Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.), a long-time leader on equal employment issues, Thomas all but threatened an intra-government enforcement war. He suggested that the labor department's plan was so weak that it would force the EEOC to file civil rights lawsuits against some companies that have been cleared as free-of-bias by the labor department. He said that elimination of class action suits would make it impossible to punish employers who discriminate or adequately compensate the victims.

Thomas renewed his challenge at a second hearing in June. "There have been 100 years of promises to fight discrimination...[yet] the promises of these laws and the Constitution have not yet become a reality." He rejected administration reliance on "voluntarism" to end discrimination, explaining that "there is voluntary compliance with the Internal Revenue Service only because there are sanctions" for failure to pay taxes.

Thomas acknowledged that he "reads the law differently" than some other Reagan appointees and declared, "I have an obligation to enforce the law and I intend to do that.... I tend to be somewhat

Continued on page 15

## Rightists say Reagan hasn't done enough

Critics at the right-wing Heritage Foundation think the Reagan administration has not gone far enough in its fight against affirmative action, according to Heritage, and some key political insiders agree.

In its "Agenda 1983"—a thick volume of conservative program proposals—the Heritage Foundation says that Reagan should dramatically reverse the priorities of federal fair employment agencies. It complains that administration officials have been "too timid."

Under the Heritage plan:

- The Labor Department and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would outlaw goals and timetables and issue new rules banning affirmative action;

- The Justice Department would file federal suits opposing quotas and "race-conscious solutions of any type" in employment discrimination cases; and

- The U.S. Civil Rights Commission would conduct studies of discrimination against white males, allegedly caused by affirmative action.

Do these plans sound far-fetched? For the moment they certainly do because administration officials are trying to avoid further antagonizing minority group members and women between now and the 1984 elections. But the Agenda 1983 report may provide clues to the future, if President Reagan is re-elected.

According to the foundation, the report's authors "hold sensitive positions in the government." If Reagan is re-elected in 1984, they may have a second chance to turn these goals into reality.

—S.A.



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## GET IT STRAIGHT

IN THESE TIMES IS NOT, OF COURSE, a literary journal, but Dan Lazare's recent review of Edmund Wilson's *The Forties* (ITT, Sept. 7) is so filled with inaccuracies, half-baked readings and general silliness that a protest seems in order.

We read that the New Critics "under the influence of T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and the Southern Agrarian literary school—were turning out mushy paeans to the artistic virtues of feudalism and the Southern plantation system." Though this may be acceptable as a polemical description of the Southern Agrarians' polemics, it is simply incorrect as a description of the American New Criticism. This school is notable for its treatment of literary works as natural objects, devoid of intentionality, and for its anti-historical bias. I refer Lazare to Paul de Man's "Form and Intent in the American New Criticism" in *Blindness and Insight*, 2nd ed. rev., for a fuller discussion.

Lazare tells us that Wilson "made a point of denouncing Joe McCarthy in print," which is fine as far as it goes, but implies that this was the whole of his political involvement (I assume that Lazare includes the '60s, since he includes *Patriotic Gore*, published in 1962). But nothing could be farther from the truth. From 1957 through 1960, Wilson reported on and supported the Iroquois nationalist movement, publishing *Apologies to the Iroquois* in 1960. In 1963, Wilson published his pamphlet, *The Cold War and the Income Tax*, attacking the use of tax dollars for the Cold War. The proceeds from the sale of this pamphlet were donated to A.J. Muste's peace movement. Lazare need not even have known of these two works since these opinions are expressed in the introduction to *Patriotic Gore*, which Lazare has apparently read, if not very carefully. In this

same introduction are protests against the activities of the CIA and the FBI, against our involvement in Southeast Asia, against our support of Taiwan, a condemnation of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and an attack on our treatment of Cuba and Castro.

I write that Lazare has not read *Patriotic Gore* very carefully because of his statement that Wilson asserts "that Southern segregationists were justified in resisting the incursion of federal authority." I have just reread the whole of *Patriotic Gore* and can find no such assertion. What Wilson does say is that "it is possible to sympathize with both Negroes and whites, though not with the hoodlum and criminal methods employed by the latter against desegregation, which have left the Negro leaders, with their non-violent methods, in a position of moral superiority." This does not mean that Wilson supports segregation; one need only read his admiring discussion of George W. Cable (*Patriotic Gore*, chapter XIII) an early opponent of segregation to be assured of this.

Lazare also writes that Wilson believed that slavery was not the cause of the Civil War. Here he is correct, though Wilson's position is not a "cranky" one; he is following the historian Charles A. Beard. What Lazare leaves out is the general context of this statement. Wilson is urging the reader to turn a jaundiced eye on the U.S. government's moral cant in the service of aggression before it is too late and we find ourselves in another war. Escalation of the Vietnam war was just around the corner; it would have been well if more people had listened to him.

Lazare is biting on the subject of Wilson's objectivity, but part of objectivity is getting the facts right.

—H.C. Ricks  
Chicago

Daniel Lazare replies:

1. Perhaps Ricks should give *Patriotic Gore* another shot. Right there in the introduction is Wilson's protest that the

civil rights movement was not a matter of "simple right or wrong" because "white Southerners are rebelling against the federal government, which they have never forgiven for laying waste their country, for reducing them to abject defeat and for the needling and meddling of the Reconstruction." Needless to say, it was never "their" country and Reconstruction was more than just needling and meddling. I never said that Wilson supported segregation, simply that his refusal to give his whole-hearted support to the civil rights movement was indicative of how clouded his moral vision had become by this late point in his career.

2. Sorry, but slavery was the cause of the Civil War, and it is cranky to insist otherwise. Wilson's error was in persisting in the simple-minded belief that either the war was about morality or it was about economics. In reality, it was both. It was one of those great social conflicts, like the Reformation or the Russian Revolution, that are fought simultaneously on many different planes—moral, intellectual, political and economic.

3. That Wilson was also skeptical about the Vietnam war, supported the Iroquois nationalist movement, defended Castro, etc., is all beside the point.

4. My reference to the New Criticism was merely that—a reference—not a comprehensive description of everything that benighted school of thought stood for. For a more complete discussion of the New Critics' reactionary politics, I refer Ricks to John Fekete's *The Critical Twilight: Explorations in the Ideology of Anglo-American Literary Theory* from Eliot to McLuhan.

## SICK AND TIRED

FOR REASONS UNKNOWN TO ME, BOTH the September 7 and September 14 issues of *ITT* arrived yesterday simultaneously, which is why I may seem to be a bit late complaining about the first issue.

I am really getting sick and tired of the way you keep running articles about the Pope and his devoted servants. Maybe it's just my detestation of Catholicism coming out, and I am indeed going to run a check from here on in to see if you do indeed pay more attention to this church than any other, but nonetheless, I don't see how an objective journalist can justify featuring your interview of Cardinal Barnardin on the front page, when about all your feature article boiled down to was, "Well, hum...yes, there is a bit of tension there, but we have to do what the Pope says."

I know you habitually justify such articles as the abovementioned as well as anti-choice articles by right-wingers as a mere desire to publish a "variety of viewpoints on the left," so now I'm asking you, when are you going to publish a really blistering indictment of the reactionary and misogynistic policies of the Catholic Church by a real honest-to-God atheist on the left?

I would like to see Gloria Steinem too, doing a job on Catholics' war against women, and prominently featured on your front page. She certainly represents many of us women on the left, and I would like to see more of that "variety" you talk about.

—Audrey Patton  
Minneapolis

## ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE

AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE WOMEN'S Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice at Seneca Falls, I expected much more from *ITT* than the grossly incomplete coverage you allowed for our work there. From Ellis and Anderson's article (*ITT*, Aug. 24), I suspect that most readers will conclude that local wrath toward the camp is the only topic worthy of discussion.

Just like so many other newspapers around the country, you focused on the one obvious problem area, forsaking other issues. I suggest the following topics as ones that should be discussed and explored: the ideal of operating the encampment on the basis of consensus and the difficulty of maintaining consensus in times of extreme stress, the positive community relationships that existed (with the local sheriff's department, with the diner across from the Depot's main gate, etc.) and how they were developed, the issues/goals that individual women brought with them, new issues/goals they hope to take home and the wide variety of women present and the learning experience involved in working together on a common goal.

As participants, we are working toward developing new methods for the process, decision-making and politicization involved in peace work. The commitment and courage of these women should not be ignored, or even allowed to be overshadowed, especially by the socialist press in this country.

—Patricia M. Troxell  
Northampton, Mass.

## LETHAL INJECTION

A BILL TO REPLACE ELECTROCUTION with lethal injection as the method of legal execution in the State of Illinois has been passed by both houses of the General Assembly and sent to the desk of Governor Jim Thompson. The governor vetoed a similar bill last year, but has indicated that he is now willing to reconsider his position.

Electrocution is a particularly gruesome form of execution, but lethal injection could bring about even more gruesome results. Since lethal injection provides an illusion of humaneness in killing, it will make it easier and more acceptable to sentence people to death. Lethal injection is not, however, either humane or compassionate. There is no humane way to kill a person.

Lethal injection is nothing more than an attempt to cover up the brutal and barbaric nature of the death penalty, an effort to pacify our own guilty consciences. The only humane act would be to abolish all forms of capital punishment.

At our National Convention in Washington, D.C., in March 1983, the National Council of Jewish Women voted to work for the abolition of capital punishment. Write or call Gov. Thompson and urge him to veto the lethal injection method of execution.

—Dorothy King  
National Council of Jewish Women  
Evanston, Ill.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## In and out of the Democratic Party

By John Blank

**T**HOSE ON THE LEFT in electoral politics have been debating in recent years whether to do so as Democrats. But much of this debate has been muddled by a failure to notice a crucial ambiguity in the phrase "within the Democratic Party." This failure has played its part in obscuring mistakes both by the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and others working in the Democratic Party, and by groups like the Citizens Party.

The phrase "within the Democratic Party" refers to at least three different things: (1) the "ticket" on or within which candidates place their names—i.e., one is counted as "within" the Democratic Party if one is registered as a Democrat, runs for office with the name "Democrat" attached to him or her, or even merely habitually votes for Democratic Party candidates; (2) the Party

### "Within" the Democratic Party means three different things.

"machinery," i.e., the network of central committees, county committees, precinct organizations—one may be said to be working "within" the Democratic Party by being active on one of these committees; (3) the network of career politicians and their support systems, both financial and organizational.

There is a real difference among these ways of being "within" the Democratic Party. Here in Oregon, for instance, leftists have worked "within" the Democratic Party by being active in—indeed, by taking over—various party committees, and have succeeded in passing left-wing platforms at state conventions. But this activity has had almost no effect (although it has been going on for at least 20 years) on the stances of elected officials. This is because the party machinery here plays almost no role in electing candidates, who generally have their own campaign organizations, their own sources of funds and their own networks of volunteers and paid staffers. Thus, the Party machinery exerts no power; this reality is reflected in the extreme sensitivity Democratic Party leaders here have shown toward doing anything that might irk elected Democrats.

In Oregon, then, as far as power is concerned, it is "within" the Democratic Party only in the sense that the shots are called by career Democratic politicians and their organizations; it is not within the Party machinery.

There are often good reasons to run candidates in Democratic primaries (as opposed to working within the Party machinery or within the organizations of career Democratic politicians). If we can run good primary campaigns, whether or not we win, we can push incumbent career Democrats to the left; if we win, all the better. But sometimes it makes sense to run "outside" the Democratic Party (not on that ticket)—on the Citizens Party label, or as an independent. Anderson in 1980 ran first in the Republican primaries and then as an independent, doubling his campaign time and exposure.

The important thing is to be, and to be perceived as, a threat. In Oregon, the Cit-

izens Party ran five races in 1984 (averaging 26 percent of the vote). In one of the races, for state legislator, our Citizens Party candidate got 20 percent of the vote in only three weeks of campaigning. This campaign was an effective way, as it turned out, to exert pressure on the Democrat who won. He was concerned as to whether we intended to run against him next time—his insecurity kept his vote straight on the issues we'd targeted.

In order for the left to have influence, it must be able to mobilize the resources to win, or at least spoil, elections. In order to do this, a prerequisite is that the organizational form we choose be "outside" the Democratic Party, not necessarily in the sense of not running on the Democratic ticket, but in the sense of having our own organizational and financial resources, independent of the system of support (chiefly the banks, the big corporations, and their PACs) the career Democrats rely on.

Of course, if we just want to win, we can operate "within" that network of corporate support. But we need to win as leftists, so that our victories when we win them are victories against the corporate system.

It is to the credit of the Citizens Party and other third-party efforts that they have recognized this need for organizational independence from the Democratic Party (in the sense of its corporate connections). Perhaps some Citizens Party activists have erred by confusing having a different name (Citizens Party rather than Democrat) with being "outside" the corporate-support network of the Democrats. This attitude within the Citizens Party has sometimes resulted in sectarianism—the failure of the recent Citizens Party national convention to endorse Jesse Jackson because he is "inside" the Democratic Party. And it has prevented a clear recognition of the problem of accountability (as if Citizens Party candidates would be more accountable because they didn't have the name "Democrat" attached to them). Certainly this attitude has prevented the Citizens Party from utilizing opportunities it might have utilized.

But this mistake has been balanced by a mistake on the part of many DSAers and others who have argued for activity "within" the Democratic Party. The usual case for them has been that working "within" the Democratic Party means supporting left-liberal career Democrats, either as campaign volunteers or as paid staffers (the degree of the candidate's leftism varying according to whether it is a primary or general election fight that is being waged).

A good example is DSA's support of Cranston in California. None of DSA's favorites, as far as I know, have made it a primary part of their political agenda to use their campaigns—and their victories, should these result—to build an independent political organization capable of consistently challenging the corporations' politicians. The most to be hoped for from these "progressive" politicians (and I don't mean to sneeze at this—it's not without importance) is "good votes" on certain issues, and to a certain very minimal extent carrying a left program to the electorate in campaigns.

But as for building an independent organization, these candidates have offered nothing; nor has DSA here been able to articulate its own strategy for using these campaigns to build organization. As a result, since DSA has been unable to deal with the problem of "accountability" to any political base (so what if candidates call themselves "progressive" or even "socialist," or pledge to support a few

reforms), their work "within" the Democratic Party has had no noticeable effect on the political climate of the country.

Clearly some kind of middle road is necessary, some course midway between the sectarian course of having nothing to do with "official" (Democratic) politics, and the course of tailing behind "progressive" politicians who do nothing to move the movement forward organizationally.

What is needed is an organization that can run candidates, period, whether on the Democratic ticket or off it—candidates who come from a background of left activity, who are committed to principles consistent with our own, and who are dependent on our organization's support in getting elected.

Tactically, this organization needs to be very flexible. Sometimes it may be necessary to run independent or third-party campaigns; sometimes it may even be necessary to run in Republican primaries. Indeed, many DSAers lay far too much stress on cleaving to the Democratic Party label. In some cases it might be a good idea—say to pressure Packwood on peace, or Hatfield on abortion—to run in Republican primaries, especially in states where the Republicans, not the Demo-

crats, are really the party of the mass of voters. The stress on the Democrats tends to perpetuate the idea that the Democrats as such are somehow intrinsically more on the left, that there is a liberal ideology or history that we are trying to connect with by working "within" the Democratic Party.

In any case, our organization must be a party independent of—"outside" of—both the Democrats and the Republicans, but capable of intervening in Democratic or Republican processes where appropriate, and flexible enough to run independent candidates where that tactic is appropriate. No doubt, many, or even most of the races we will be interested in will be run on the Democratic Party ticket; but it is wrong to characterize the organization we need as in principle "within" the Democratic Party. To so characterize our organization would be to leave ourselves open to the charge that, for all our talk, we are only paving the way for a new generation of left-liberal career Democrats who, after all is said and done, still want to "play ball" within the framework of corporate subservience.

John Blank has been active in the Citizens Party in Oregon.

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## PERSPECTIVES

*Life in Yugoslavia after Tito*By Magda Paleczny-Zapp  
and Kenneth Zapp

**R**ETURNING TO YUGOSLAVIA three years after Tito's death, we found that the political upheaval expected by many Western analysts has not occurred. On the contrary, in the face of a severe economic crisis, Yugoslavia is a model of stability.

During his 35-year tenure as president and party leader, Tito had succeeded in integrating Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bosnians, Montenegrins and Albanians into one system. Without his strong hand and political wisdom, the collective leadership that replaced him was not thought capable of keeping these disparate groups from each other's throats.

Such prognostications overlooked two of Tito's greatest achievements. First, he directed public attention to his ideals rather than himself. Commitment to him meant support for four central themes: independence from foreign domination, an international policy of non-alignment and non-intervention, an economy based on workers' self-management and equality among the various Yugoslav nationalities.

Second, the Yugoslav system of decentralized political and economic authority affords the nationalities what they most desire—to make the decisions that affect them and to maintain their identities.

Yugoslavia is stable because the vast majority of each nationality believes that no other system offers them greater opportunity for self-determination. They will not support political opportunists who preach either centralization or nationalist separatism. Centralization means being dominated by one of the nationalities; separatism would subject each nationality to foreign domination.

Ironically, Yugoslavia's strength, the decentralized system, is also a weakness. In times of economic difficulties when strong measures are needed, the federal government often cannot find the consensus among the nationalities needed to act.

**Political system.**

A collective presidency at the federal level replaced Tito. Each of the six republics and two regions sends a member for a five-year term, renewable only once. The role of president of the presidency rotates annually in a predetermined order. A two-chamber assembly performs legislative functions.

A delegation in the chambers from one republic or region can declare any issue in its interest and thereby require that all eight delegations approve a measure before it becomes law. This local veto power over federal actions is exercised often because of the drastic developmental differences among the areas. Slovenia, for instance, enjoys a standard of living equal to her Italian and Austrian neighbors and has one of the lowest unemployment rates in Europe (2 percent). Kosovo, bordering Albania, has more than 20 percent unemployment and less than one-sixth of the per capita income of Slovenia. All issues viewed as potentially benefiting either developed or the less developed regions are hotly contested.

What, then, is the role of the Party in this single-party state? Though still citing Marxist-Leninist principles, it switched its name from party to league 30 years ago to emphasize guidance rather than control. Its actual influence and internal unity differ at each level of government.

Within vague parameters of self-managed socialism, the federal league acts as

eight regional parties, each serving local interests. It is directed by another collective presidency to which each republic and region sends a member.

The source of each league and government leader's influence then lies in the republics. Those who lose contact with their support base by staying too long in federal service in Belgrade usually find themselves out of the game. Consequently, many abuses of power believed innate to one-party systems are absent at the federal level. Regional representatives watch each other closely and only a few stay long enough to feather their own nests.

The republics have significant power. They control social services, education, policy for private business, internal security, their own economic plans, relations with churches and price-setting for many items. The federal government is left with international, military, customs, border and currency issues and the general guidance of self-management.

Social services have been decentralized further and taken out of the government sector. New Self-Management Interest Communities oversee health care, education, social security, science and research and recreation. Delegates from work places join delegates from service agencies in a conference that decides the percent of income enterprises must pay for each service and how the funds are distributed. The agreement is approved by a majority of work places. Yugoslavs claim this is proof that their state is slowly withering away.

**The self-managed economy.**

Yugoslav self-management is best understood in four phases. Between 1950, when workers' councils were established, and 1965, the federal government controlled investments and price setting. The actual power of the councils and the independence of the enterprises evolved slowly.

Though the economy grew almost 7 percent annually during this period, most enterprises wanted more autonomy. In 1965, a phase of market-oriented socialism began when enterprises were allowed to keep two-thirds of their income, government investment funds were transferred to self-managed banks, failing enterprises were no longer subsidized and most prices were freed from state control. The self-managed firms were also allowed to transact business abroad independently.

The results of the 1965-74 period were mixed. Benefits included improved quality and quantity of consumer goods, increased rate of technological change inside enterprises and better utilization of labor as people were hired and promoted more according to their ability than political affiliation. But inflation and unemployment posed new problems. Also, income differences among firms and industries and, most seriously, across regions widened.

The League responded with an ambitious attempt to remedy the market ills while preserving its advantages. Emphasis after 1974 was on coordination among enterprises. Planning, absent from the previous period, took place. Enterprises with common interests would then pool their capital, thereby encouraging its distribution throughout the country.

To assure workers that this was not usurpation of their rights of self-management, enterprises were divided into smaller income centers called basic organizations. Each new unit has its own workers' council, director, income and social capital. Moving decisions closer to the workers was expected to stimulate them materially and eliminate the internal subsidization of inefficient departments.

In 1980 the government initiated the

first of several temporary measures now known as stabilization. All "nonproductive" investments, such as offices, sport halls and service agencies, were suspended. Imports and foreign credit had to be screened by new commissions. Yugoslavs traveling abroad had to deposit significant sums in long-term accounts. Organizations had to allocate less of their income to wages. Investments more than \$60,000 had to be approved by republic economic institutes. The dinar was devaluated first by 30 percent against the dollar in June 1980 and another 300 percent since then.

The immediate cause of these interventions in self-management was a foreign debt, now about \$19 billion. That threatened to push the country into default. Domestic inflation—between 20 percent and 30 percent annually since 1978—had produced record trade deficits.

**Social costs.**

The real income of the average worker has fallen about 30 percent since 1980. For the first time in many years, temporary shortages of food and other consumer items are commonplace. Imports of coffee, beverages and printed material have all but disappeared. Any domestic product that can be sold abroad is, at ridiculously low prices. Foreign vacations have become prohibitively expensive for Yugoslavs who five years earlier had been world travelers.

The burden of such hardships have not fallen evenly. Families with both parents working, an apartment from the enterprise and relatives in the village who guarantee a supply of meat still live very well. Two groups, however, clearly suffer more than others.

*The backbone of the multinational Yugoslav system is decentralization of the economy and political authority. Now that Tito is gone, national unity has been assured by a collective presidency of eight members, and by tempering self-management with planning.*

The lesser developed regions, especially Kosovo, have fallen further behind the rest of the country in per capita income. While partly emanating from their higher birth rates and centuries of Turkish rule, the young victims of these circumstances vent their frustrations at the authorities. In spring of 1981, thousands of students in Pristina, capital of Kosovo, protested and then rioted against the prospect of indefinite unemployment after graduation. Some of their anger was aimed at the Serbian minority in their region who had enjoyed more privileged positions than the

Albanian majority.

Every enterprise currently pays 3 percent of its income for aid to the four lesser developed regions. Now the prospect of having to pay more has moved enterprises in developed areas to invest in the poorer republics. It is not clear whether enough capital will be mobilized in this manner to avert the growing demands by citizens and economists in these areas for some type of central investment authority.

The youth across the country pose another problem. They grew up during two decades of incredible prosperity and expansion. Their contact with the partisan efforts during World War II and the early struggle for socialism is weak compared to their material desires. The gap between their expectations and the immediate reality is startling. Unemployment is highest among new university graduates. After finding work they will have to wait many years in most cities for housing away from their parents.

The system cannot expand employment fast enough to satisfy the needs of those seeking their first jobs and hundreds of Yugoslavs who return weekly from temporary work in recession-wracked Europe.

Nothing has changed so drastically in the three years since an earlier visit to Yugoslavia as the attitude of the young people. Though the socialist spirit resounds at youth brigade work sites, those who participate are the minority. The majority harbor cynicism and malaise, bad signs for the future.

**Prospects.**

Yugoslavs are confused by American views about them. As leaders of the non-aligned movement, they do not understand the anti-Communist rhetoric they receive and why so many Americans are ignorant about their system. They are surprised by the prevailing view that their collective leadership cannot work. A strong leader arises only in times of emergency and they have no desire for a situation that would cause them to delegate their authority to one person.

Though these misunderstandings have not shaken the affinity Yugoslavs have for Americans, Reagan's economic policies have evoked bitter criticism. This is rare, coming from a government that walks the thin line between East and West, provokes neither side and has a population who 10 years ago thought Nixon was an excellent president. Even economists, most of whom are decidedly market-oriented, wonder why Reagan was so intent on crippling the world economy with high interest rates.

It is sad, however, to hear Yugoslavs say that their economy will improve only after a healthy U.S. stimulates a global growth. Yugoslavs, especially the 12 percent of them who are unemployed, may not be that patient. The government, realizing this, is trying to placate Western bankers whose support is needed and the population with intentions and actions that do not always coincide. The growth of domestic spending this year, for example, earmarked by the bankers at 11 percent, will probably be closer to 20 percent, with inflation around 25 percent.

As the partisans did 40 years ago, Yugoslavs relieve their pains by enjoying their accomplishments. Still a half-year away, they already are celebrating the Winter Olympics to be held in Sarajevo. No other event seems to give them more pride, especially people in Bosnia for whom this marks full acceptance in the league of modern nations. For two weeks their city of mosques and Turkish kafanas will be capital of the world.

Yugoslavia remains the only—and also possibly the worst—place to test the economic effects of self-management or market socialism. The confluence of specific Yugoslav conditions, unique ideology and global circumstances make generalizations foolhardy. Further, for Yugoslavia, self-management is not just an economic system; it is a socio-political process of industrialization and urbanization. It affords them the essential element most lacking in Western capitalism and Soviet socialism—dignity. ■



**The Return of Martin Guerre**  
By Natalie Zemon Davis  
Harvard University Press, \$15.00

By Pat Aufderheide

Social history has fallen on hard times. When I was studying it a decade ago, we recruits were infused with a vision of history that could transcend the division between "top down" and "bottom up." We were going to write works that would give a full understanding of social change—the personal, the social, the political.

Social history, however, seems—under the pressure of recession, shrinking academic jobs and a general intellectual malaise—to have degenerated into trivia contests about popular habits. Still, history isn't just kings and Kissinger. Where is the work that describes the life of a society, that asks how people perceive their world and exercise their options in pursuit of their dreams?

Every now and then there's a hopeful sign, though not so often from this side of the oceans and not always from the academy. Every reader has a different list. Polish journalist Ryszard Kapucinski's *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat* (see *In These Times*, Sept. 21) is on mine. So is Italian scholar Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a 16th Century Miller*; George Duby's *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society 980-1420*; and Herbert Gutman's *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925*. Journals like *Radical History Review*, *The Journal of Social History*, *Past and Present* and *History Workshop Journal* keep hopes of topnotch social history alive, although just as often they put a damper on it.

Now there's another entry to that idiosyncratic list: Natalie Ze-



European International Distribution, Ltd.

**The peasant wife of the movie**  
mon Davis' *The Return of Martin Guerre*. A social historian of early modern France and author of *Society and Culture in France*, Davis here combines a veteran researcher's expertise with a lay reader's curiosity, all of it done in an easygoing style. She draws on sophisticated (and often inexpressably dull) work in land tenure, legal rights and demography to reinterpret an historic event that occurred among the French peasantry.

#### Rip Van Guerre.

In the 16th century, the southern village of Artigat became the center of scandal. Martin Guerre, the son of Basque immigrants who had immigrated to a village near Toulouse, married Bertrande de Rols, daughter of one of the town's best families. At first it seemed that the immature, insecure Martin was impotent, and her family urged Bertrande to annul the marriage. But the proud and stubborn girl refused. Martin finally fathered a son, but family relations, both with his relatives and hers, remained difficult. One day, after a quarrel

with his father, he disappeared. Eight years later he suddenly showed up again with stories from the wars, and settled back into the daily peasant routine.

After three years of cultivating their gardens, Martin and Bertrande's new peace was shattered. Confirming longstanding suspicions of one faction in the village Martin's own uncle accused him of being an imposter and filed court charges in the name of Bertrande. Bertrande went along with the charge. Her husband claimed that she was coerced into it by her mother and his uncle, who hoped to seize the inheritance; she acted unsure, accusing him but also supporting him financially throughout the trial.

The trial, and then the appeal, dragged into the courtroom two villages' worth of witnesses, who couldn't come to any consensus. The judges, including noted legal expert and reformer Jean de Coras, were pronouncing in favor of the husband when suddenly the doors of the court flew open. Into the echoing hall stumped a one-legged man, claiming to be the true Martin Guerre. His missing leg, a war injury that had been rumored by soldiers passing through Artigat, validated the claim. His first act as a returned husband was to publicly rebuke his wife for soiling the family name. The false Martin (a.k.a. Arnaud de Tilh or "Pansette," an adventurer who had grown up in a nearby village) was hanged after public confession.

The case rocked France. There were salacious implications—the wife certainly knew the difference between one man's body and another's. There was the challenge to the judicial system—two trials had not uncovered the truth. And there was the profoundly disturbing quality of the Big Lie—of inauthenticity at the core of society.

The judge, Jean de Coras, wrote a book recounting the case, which sold widely in ever-cheaper editions. Montaigne read it and made it the subject of an essay on knowledge. The story became a marvelous tale in popular literature, as well as the subject of a play, two novels and an operetta. And they still talk about it in Artigat, where nothing quite so colorful has happened since.

It sounds like a movie plot—and is. *The Return of Martin Guerre*, directed by Daniel Vigne, is now playing across the U.S. (and it was a pleasant success in France last year). But the difference between that movie and this book is the difference between trivial and living social history.

The movie has accuracy, especially in its details—the 16th century procedure for harvesting and stomping grapes; the objects you'd find hanging in a peasant's house; the actual court building in which the appeals trial took place; *charivari*, the heckling ritual conducted under the window

nearest the barren marriage bed of Martin and Bertrande. It has breathtaking visual elegance, and high-quality performances by Nathalie Baye (Bertrande) and Gerard Depardieu (Pansette).

The filmmakers were groping for the universal themes from a historical moment. For Vigne



Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Mazarine

*Through painstaking research in esoteric details of 16th-century life, Davis is able to give us a vivid reconstruction of the life and options of French peasants.*

and for scriptwriter Jean-Claude Carrière, it is part love story (the doomed affair between Bertrande and Pansette) and part detective story (who's the real Martin?). The movie's suspense doesn't hold, however—it is less interesting whether or not Martin is an imposter than what happens around him because of those nagging doubts. And Bertrande's ambivalence doesn't neatly resolve into tragic passion; she's a touch too canny.

#### The hows and whys.

But in this graceful book, Davis asks the questions that lie behind the story. By the second paragraph of the introduction, we already know the outline of what happened. But in 12 chapters that take us from Martin and Bertrande's childhood through the transformation of the tale into a "prodigious history," we learn the hows and whys. If the movie looks for clear-cut resolutions and parallels to the present, the book revels in the ambiguities of the public record and the differences between now and then.

For Davis, the key to the story

*The movie is trivial history; the book is social history.*

is Bertrande, whose actions gave the case its complexity. Davis thinks the wife must have known early on that Pansette was not Martin. So why did she wait so long? Why did she charge him? And why, having charged him, did she also defend him, only withholding her support at the last moment?

Davis imagines Bertrande as an astute and prideful woman caught in a sticky situation, playing every card she had in her deck as a peasant wife and mother. Because Davis knows so much about property, marriage, family life and farming then—drawing from wills and testaments, property settlements, proverbs and folktales—she knows what Bertrande's cards were likely to be. She thinks the wife, forced finally into action by her family and by public murmuring, decided to play a double game: to accuse him, but hope he would be cleared. She was hedging her bets, and would win something either way.

native Basque territory with customs of southern France, where Pansette grew up. What seemed to Pansette a sound business proposition must have looked to the Guerres like vicious family betrayal. Assessing the vacillating, judgmental character of young Martin, Davis speculates on what it must have been like for this child of immigrants to suffer the local boys' crude humor (Martin's nicknames suggest he was unpopular) as well as the family's stern expectations.

The one character whose motivation remains a mystery here is Pansette. We learn about his personality; as a boy he was famous for a prodigious memory and imitative skills. Notoriously unscrupulous and theatrical, he got into the wrong crowd as soon as he could and left town early for the wars. Why this Pansette—"the belly," nicknamed for his appetites—should have chosen the dull and routine role of peasant husband and father never

If Bertrande's self-interest explains why the story unrolled the way it did, something else explains why it came to public attention at all. Davis asks why this imposter shook the foundations of village life, merited a death sentence attended by huge spectacle and incited nationwide debate. She suggests that the fundamental nature of the lie was why villagers' doubts could never be put at rest—even in the face of proof of a happy marriage. (Pansette, after all, was a far more appealing character than the sour Martin, and it's easy for us to side with the filmmakers and see it as a love tragedy.)

The lie didn't stop with Pansette's ingenuity and Bertrande's guilt, but affected all of Artigat. The village was a face-to-face community where it was critical that basic relations be what they seem. A lie that big simply rotted social life at the core.

The book combines two essential ingredients for social history—the historical research that so requires *sitzfleisch* (a handy German word meaning the ability to sit in one place for a long time, presumably bored beyond reason) and a vividly empathetic imagination. The result is that the characters emerge in context. Considering the rage of the Guerre clan when Pansette begins to sell off land (the action that seems to have set off the imposture charge), Davis compares land inheritance patterns in their

gets explained. In the movie, Depardieu is so charming that you forget to ask that question. In the book you're just left wondering. There is a limit to healthy speculation, of course, and Davis stays sensibly within it.

Davis was already at work on this book when she found out about Vigne's movie, which was about to start shooting. She served as the film's historical consultant, correcting details and providing authentic language and gesture information. She finds the film lovely and accurate in many ways, but "with a more 19th-century romantic cast to it than I would have had."

"I think many people are looking for a way to see that people back then were just like us," she told *In These Times*. "But what I love about history is being able to see how different something is. If you start from a respect for the pastness of the past and enter into dialog with the people of that period, then that is where the humanity, the universality, comes in. I want to capture not only something that is lost today, but to express a sense of possibility, of options."

This book puts people back into history without taking the social and political forces out of it. The universal is there in the plot's particulars, and they make you think, not only about their options then, but ours now. ■  
*A different version of this article appeared in the Village Voice.*



By Carlo Wolff

Watching David Bowie perform is like entering a room with walls of mirrors: no matter which way you look, you're reflected—and minimized, and partitioned—into infinity.

Over the 19 years of his career, Bowie has reflected the stylistic fragments of culture in the personae he has assumed. And now, for the first time, he has managed to fuse his many images, finally winning both aesthetic and commercial success.

Metamorphosis could be the middle name of this 36-year-old calculating master of images, who was born David Jones in the tough London suburb of Brixton. In the early '60s, Jones changed his name to Bowie (so it would be assumed he cut like a knife, he told an interviewer) to avoid confusion with Davy Jones, a member of the Monkees.

Although Davy Jones has diminished into a footnote in rock history, Bowie has by contrast taken on mythic proportions. He's done this through a series of stunning albums, appearances in unusual movies (Nicholas Roeg's *The Man Who Fell to Earth* in 1976, this year's *The Hunger* and *Merry Christmas, Mr. Lawrence*) and rare concert tours where the

## The master of psychological cabaret is in command of his many roles.

stylish singer picked stellar musicians, such as guitarists Adrian Belew, Robert Fripp, Mick Ronson and the enigmatic musical theorist Brian Eno, to back him.

Until this year, however, Bowie's influence had far outstripped his commercial success, except for 1975, when he had scored a number one single, "Fame," off the album *Young Americans*—a slick record that could be called one of the first disco works.

### The year of Bowie.

1983, however, is turning into the Year of David Bowie, much like 1981 was the Year of the Rolling Stones. On the strength of "Let's

Dance"—an exuberant dance album touching on racial as well as romantic relationships—the ever-fashionable artist has mounted his first tour in five years.

Fueled by massive press (the covers of *Time*, *Rolling Stone*) and two popular videotapes on Music Television—the all-rock video channel that plays to 14 million homes a day—Bowie is reaching a wider audience than ever before. He's finally been able to parlay myth into hit.

Trained in mime, Bowie started his musical career as a strange British purveyor of Tin Pan Alley—a minor theatrical talent with a penchant for blues. But as the '60s turned into the '70s, Bowie began to climb into various carefully constructed images, including the astral traveler of his "Space Oddity" days, the messianic rock star of "Ziggy Stardust" and the glamorous schizophrenic of "Aladdin Sane" (a.k.a. "a lad insane"). The last role he assumed was that of the dapper lounge lizard for *Young Americans*, the album closest in style to *Let's Dance*.

But from 1975 until 1980, Bowie seemed lost, his theatricality subsumed in drugs. Nevertheless, he remained a harbinger of trends: the *Ziggy* and *Aladdin Sane* albums presaged the theatrical excesses of such hard-rocking teen favorites as Kiss, *Young Americans* embodied the hard-edged cool of disco and the albums Bowie crafted with Brian Eno in the late '70s forged the stylistic focus of New Wave.

Now, Bowie appears to have assimilated all those images and in effect become whole. Even some of the cold, Aryan Thin White Duke image of *Station to Station*, lyrically his most chilly and impersonal and musically his most exciting album, has been absorbed into Bowie's new, more relaxed presentation.

Long an artist of global influence, Bowie also recently has assimilated Third World motifs into his work: The "Let's Dance" MTV video is about frustrated Aborigines trying to get a piece of the Australian system, while "China Girl," also filmed in Australia, is a love story starring Bowie and an Oriental woman. Bowie also has said that *Let's Dance*, with its sumptuous funk sounds produced by guitarist Nile Rodgers of the black New York band Chic, only touches on the musical directions he'd like to

# ART»ENTERTAINMENT

## MUSIC

# David Bowie sees the world



Bowie has shed his chilly, Aryan stance in favor of a loose, funkier performing style.

explore. One of those directions he has said without elaboration, is protest.

In a recent performance in Syracuse, N.Y., the master of psychological cabaret showed he's in command of his many roles. Dressed to the nines, the translucently blond singer offered a two-hour show that blended mime, martial arts, soul-band choreography and visionary, surrealistic lyricism.

Most of the material came

from *Let's Dance* and 1980's *Scary Monsters*, an album that moved away from Bowie's earlier self-pity and alienation toward a healthy, if angry, extroversion. But Bowie also dipped back to 1969, playing moving acoustic guitar on a beautiful "Space Oddity"—about a man just floating around in space—that immediately followed a remarkable "Ashes to Ashes."

In "Ashes," Bowie's update on the spaceman of "Space Odd-

ity," Major Tom has become a junkie lost in space rather than a dreamer. He sang the song from within one of four plastic cylinders suspended from trusses at the top of the giant stage of the Carrier Dome, making the song a remarkable musical and visual image of disembodiment and sorrow. When Bowie stepped out of the cylinder to don an acoustic guitar and strum into "Space Oddity," the link over time, space and stage was breathtaking.

Bowie's band features members of such soul and funk groups as Chic, the Asbury Jukes and Tower of Power; both old and new material were treated with a dance beat, call-and-response guitars and a gospel-flavored keyboard style. And over it all, Bowie sang, switching effortlessly from the oily baritone of "China Girl" to the suave tenor of "Young Americans," and the desperation of the chilling "Heroes."

It's been said that Bowie's a dilettante, that his adoption and shedding of images belie a fundamental shallowness. Elegantly dressed and strikingly nonchalant, Bowie indeed appeared the thin white fashion plate. But now more than ever, Bowie resonates far beyond his looks.

For years he had shaped and paid attention to style, sometimes following and more often anticipating trends. What his latest incarnation and success signify are his newfound command of style—a power substantial in itself.

Bowie used to use his roles to embody, and at the same time, hide behind his youth. But now, on the basis of his Syracuse show (and more characteristic sell-outs in Europe and the rest of the U.S.; his late May to November "Serious Moonlight" tour is expected to gross more than \$20 million and reach 2.5 million people in 15 countries), it's clear that David Bowie has finally come together as a thoroughly integrated performer, rather than a fragmented, alienated, androgynous composite of stylish images.

The chameleon of rock has turned into an artist, ringing changes the whole world listens to.

Carlo Wolff, a music critic and reporter for the *Schenectady Gazette*, writes on music, film and literature for various publications.

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Beth Maschlinot.

### OAKLAND, CA

#### September 30-October 2

Labor Notes West Coast Conference: "Saving Our Jobs and Working Conditions." Panels and workshops on fighting concessions; protectionism and local content; plant closings; the new West Coast economy; and more. Simultaneous Spanish translation, childcare provided. Preregistration (\$35) required. For information, contact Labor Notes, 6417 Hillgass Avenue, Oakland, CA 94618; (415) 658-1147.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### October 1

Join Bella Abzug, Abbie Hoffman,

and others for Mobilization for Survival's second annual Walkathon. The Walkathon is a fundraising/political action to oppose the scheduled deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. Walk begins at 9:00 a.m. at Washington Square Park. Walkers need to register now; call (212) 533-0008 for more information.

#### October 2-3

Conference: Nicaragua and Central America: Saying "No" to Reagan's Wars. Ambassador Antonio Jarquin, ambassador to U.S. from Nicaragua, Tom Wicker, columnist NYT, Marguerita Gastiosoro, member of Social Democratic Party in El Salvador, William Sloane Coffin, senior minister, Riverside Church, will speak. Workshops on Central America also. 6-10 p.m. Sunday, 1 a.m.-5 p.m. Monday. For more info: (212) 222-5900, ext. 262 or 349. At Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Dr., NY, NY 10027. Sponsored by the Riverside Church Disarmament Program.

#### October 14

Benefit Dance Party for the New Feminist Library of Monthly Review Press. From 8 p.m. on at the District 65 union hall, 13 Astor Place, Tick-

ets: \$10 at door, \$8 in advance from New Feminist Library, c/o Ross, 890 West End Ave., N.Y.C. 10025.

### CHICAGO, IL

#### October 5

Nicaraguan Ambassador Antonio Jarquin will speak at the Cathedral of St. James, 65 E. Huron at 7:30. Donation, \$2. Sponsored by Women for Peace and Help End the Arms Race.

#### October 6

Physicians for Social Responsibility Chicago Chapter meeting. Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison, Room 1245-Jelke. Thursday, 6:30 p.m. Speaker: Psychologist Dr. Michael Stephen. "Disarmament and Peace: You Make the Difference." C.M.E. credit-category II. Everyone welcome.

### STANFORD, CA

#### October 7 & 8

Stanford University School of Medicine and the Stanford/MidPeninsula chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility are holding a symposium: "Prescription for Prevention: Nuclear War—Our Greatest Health Hazard." The symposium brings to-

gether key experts such as Wm. Colby (former CIA Director); retired Admiral Noel Gaylor; Erick Erickson; Dr. Helen Caldicott; writer, editor Robert Manoff; Sidney Drell, Deputy Director, Stanford Linear Accelerator; Kenneth Melmon, Chair, Dept. of Medicine, Stanford School of Medicine to examine the present danger and problems surrounding nuclear war and to prescribe innovative proposals to ending the arms race through psychological, political and diplomatic avenues of conflict resolution. The symposium will be held at Memorial Auditorium, Stanford University. 9 units CME's for health professionals. \$75 public, \$40 students. (415) 497-9060, or write PSR, P.O. Box 2337, Stanford, CA 94305.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

#### October 7-9

Workers Education Local 189 presents "Labor and the Peace Movement," a conference at the NEA Building, Crabtree Auditorium, 1201 Sixteenth St., NW. Friday evening, 7:30 p.m. to Sunday noon. Issues include: labor's stake in ending the arms race, organizing for peace in a global perspective, conversion and reindustrialization, educating and or-

ganizing union members for peace. Keynote speaker: Henry Nicholas, National president, District 1199 RWDSU. And Leslie Nulty, research director, UFCW; Jane Perkins, SEIU; Dave Denison, ACTWU; Tim Webb, ASTMS (British trade union). For more info, call (202) 529-1125.

### MORGANTOWN, WV

#### October 15-21

WVU Public Forum on World Peace. Over 30 speakers, including Dave Dellinger, Michael Klare, Staughton Lynd, Manning Marable, Molly Rush, Gene Sharp. Over 20 films, including *In the King of Prussia and Gandhi*. Bond Street Theater Coalition. Concert by Sweet Honey in the Rock. Contact Jerry Starr, (412) 341-8694 or (304) 293-5801.

### INDIANA, PA

#### October 26-28

"Technology and Society, Human Values and Policy Making" Conference. Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Economic, political and social aspects of our changing technological society. For information, contact IUP Center for Community Affairs, 359 Sutton Hall, Indiana, PA 15705, (412) 357-2443.



# Action

Continued from page 9

intransigent on the enforcement provisions...though less so on affirmative action."

"Keep up your intransigence—you're our savior on this issue," one woman's rights lobbyist told Thomas as he left the hearing room.

"In any other administration he'd be an enemy," said another civil rights activist. "The difference between him and other Reagan appointees is that Thomas believes in obeying the law, even if it means enforcing provisions he might disagree with."

Despite such encouragement, Thomas and the EEOC withdrew their objections in July, after reaching a compromise with the Labor Department. The Labor Department bowed to civil rights concerns on one crucial issue, agreeing to abandon its opposition to back-pay class action suits. It also made a few other liberalizing changes.

Many observers believe that this compromise was achieved too late to help the opponents of affirmative action. The proposed changes still must receive approval from David Stockman's Office of Management and Budget—where officials are said to feel that the new plan does not go far enough—and from Reagan's White House advisors, who may want to avoid the public confrontation with minority and women's groups that adoption of the rules would produce.

"At this point, I'm guardedly optimistic because of those in the White House who care about Reagan's image among minorities and women," explained a civil rights lobbyist. "Their views on affirmative action haven't changed. What has changed is that they now want to dispell the perception that the president is insensitive."

## Weak enforcement.

In the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), officials have taken informal

steps to reduce affirmative action enforcement, even though the official rules remain unchanged. These actions were harshly criticized in an internal memo leaked from EEOC to the Labor Department, which was widely circulated in Washington's civil rights community. The memo says EEOC officials "are deeply concerned...[that] OFCCP apparently has used its internal directives system" to improperly change civil rights policies "without consultation with EEOC or notification to the public."

The EEOC—despite its tough critique of other agencies—is itself the target of considerable criticism. Civil rights organizers give the EEOC credit for fighting to keep strong affirmative action rules on the books, but charge it is not doing an adequate enforcement job. Under Reagan, "the EEOC has suffered the most tumultuous two-and-a-half years in its history," says Garland Pinkston Jr., managing attorney at Catholic University's Center for National Policy Review and co-chair of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights employment task force.

He charged that the agency has come "virtually to a standstill" as a result of staffing cutbacks and confused reorganization plans. He cited a study by Chicago-based Women Employed revealing that, since Reagan took office, only one company has been barred from receiving federal contracts because of discrimination, compared with 13 under Carter.

Meanwhile, some of the civil servants who staff federal fair employment offices have launched a sort of guerrilla war against the political appointees placed above them by Reagan. Leaks to the media and the civil rights movement are their main weapon.

Every major federal agency has its own internal Office for Civil Rights (OCR), and many are staffed by people who believe in strong civil rights enforcement. Earlier this year, after leaks from the Education Department's OCR of "sensitive" information about civil rights enforcement cuts enraged higher-ups, the administration retaliated by ordering 650 employees in the office to submit to full security clearance checks and waive their right to keep medical and psychiatric rec-

ords private.

Some civil servants even publicly challenge administration policy. Last year, the union representing EEOC employees, Council 216 of the American Federation of Government Employees, issued a scathing report condemning the "systematic undermining of the federal government's ability to enforce the laws banning discrimination." Meanwhile, lawyers in the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division began a union organizing drive, partly because they were upset by the actions of political appointees who they said were blocking their efforts to enforce civil rights laws.

The public furor and intra-government dissent on affirmative action have taken both sides by surprise.

"The views of the White House have not changed," said a Washington civil rights lobbyist. What has changed is that there are now people in the White House who want to dispell the perception that the president is insensitive to minorities and women.... They know they won't change black people into Reagan supporters, but they will change their policies to reach moderate whites who can't stomach the fact that he [Reagan] is not a president for all the people."

No one expected "so strong a response so quickly," added an aide to the leading congressional advocate for equal employment laws, Rep. Hawkins. Hawkins, once deeply pessimistic about the future of federal contractor rules, is now said to believe that he has enough support in Congress to reverse the administration legislatively, if Reagan decides to press forward against affirmative action.

Such predictions show how much things have changed since 1980, when many civil rights activists thought that Reagan's election would mean the quick death of affirmative action. Instead of losing, the civil rights movement has forced Reagan into a stalemate. The federal government's legal commitment to increasing minority employment—though weakened by enforcement cutbacks—has survived against what had seemed an insurmountable attack.

*Parts of this story first appeared in National Catholic Reporter, where Steve Askin is Washington Bureau Chief.*

# Havana

Continued from page 16

ported Graham Greene from the Tropicana in his 1957 novel *Our Man in Havana*. "A man in bright blue evening clothes sang in Anglo-American about Páree. Then the piano was wheeled away into the undergrowth, and the dancers stepped down like awkward birds from among the branches."

The floor shows at the Tropicana unfold at a rapid-fire pace—like a string of musical firecrackers. A top-hatted crooner gives way to a phalanx of leggy dancers in outrageous plumes, then on come a team of conga drummers wearing stage versions of rural Negro dress. The tables explode in applause after each number, with people momentarily putting aside bottles of beer (delicious, like the best German ones), glasses of rum and plates of beef.

Hot music and eager audiences also flourish in other parts of the city, although with less show-biz bluster. A side-street cafe that looks like someone's living room pipes out rollicking rhumbas into the shabby blocks of central Havana (a rundown neighborhood, but better than the slums of Mexico City or St. Louis). An outdoor pavilion near towering tourist hotels rocks to the beat of a young band modeling itself on Santana. A remodeled roulette parlor sports an 11-piece orchestra whose job it is to please both the young salsa steppers and the old fox trotters.

Indeed, the entire city seems to sway to some silent, airborne rhythm—even those just relaxing on their porches as everyone else parades past.

Twenty-five years after the revolution, Havana is still the bright, bustling carnival that travel agents touted in the '50s—with perhaps the only difference being that nearly all of the country's population can now join in the fun. Whatever its other triumphs and failures, the Cuban experiment has proved with glittery glory that socialism does not have to be synonymous with guarded, gray grimness. ■

## CLASSIFIED

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# H A V A N A



Inside the Floridita bar



"It had started at noon at the Floridita and he had drunk first with Cuban politicians that had dropped in, nervous for a quick one; with sugar and rice planters; with Cuban government functionaries, drinking through their lunch hour; with second and third secretaries of Embassy, shepherding someone to the Floridita; with the inescapable FBI men, pleasant and all trying to look so average, clean-cut young American that they stood out as clearly as though they had worn a bureau shoulder patch on their white linen or seersucker suits. He had drunk double frozen dacquiris ...[then] he went down to the far end of the bar where the old respectable whores were...and sat with them and had a club sandwich and drank more double frozens."

—Ernest Hemingway  
ISLANDS IN THE STREAM



THE FAMOUS FLORIDITA BAR—planted on a quiet corner between the wide avenues of Cuba's capitol district and the narrow streets of Havana's old quarter—is much the same today as Hemingway remembered it.

The rich planters are gone, of course. So are the whores, the right-wing politicians and the conspicuous agents of the U.S. government (you can never be sure about the inconspicuous ones). But the festive, dacquiri-charged atmosphere remains, now enjoyed by bushy-haired intellectuals who live in the neighborhood; by diplomatic officials visiting from black African republics; by high-stepping Spanish tourists in Paris fashions; and by Cuban factory hands attracted by the bar's mahogany-trimmed elegance.

Praised long ago by *Esquire* magazine as one of the world's truly great bars, the Floridita has long been a Havana landmark. U.S. tourists flocked there for cocktails in the '50s, when the city served

as a tropical playground for the well-to-do. A vacation guide book from that era enthused, "Havana...offers the gayest, most varied nightlife of any city in the Western hemisphere."

An article in *Saturday Review* from the same period got more specific about some of that variety: "[There is] nowhere else in the world where obscene movies, obscene exhibitions, B-girls, prostitutes masquerading as B-girls and gambling operate with such availability."

Shortly after that account appeared, Havana was in the hands of Fidel Castro's rebel army, with locks shut tight on the whorehouses and casinos. But the city's colorful nightclubs and restaurants stayed open, and have been crowded and convivial ever since.

As much as ever, Havana still shows its best side after dark. As the sun slips out of the sky each evening, bringing a promise of coolness to the baked city, the streets swell with people—some dressed to the nines in tight-fitting stylishness, others in the bright colors of everyday polyester.

The moviehouses—with their French, Argentinian, Czech and domestic features priced at a peso (about \$1.15)—are jammed. The same admission will get

you a balcony seat at the ballet or opera—where the rafters ring with ballpark-style cheers after each well-executed solo. In the orchestra pit below, musicians play in blue jeans and casual summer tops.

In Old Havana, which is undergoing an ambitious historical restoration thanks to a UNESCO grant, the cafes are bustling with people and ardent conversation.

In Vedado, a once-exclusive suburb-by-the-sea, lines are forming in front of the many restaurants and bars. The Bee Gees blare for those waiting at an open-air pizza parlor while whooping laughter can be heard outside El Gato Tuerto—a dimly lit den that would make an ideal set for a Hollywood saga about Caribbean smugglers.

The longest lines of all snake through the landscaped grounds of Coppelia, an outdoor nightclub that has been converted into one of the world's largest ice cream parlors. Kids dig into heaping sundaes, anxious to show off how much they can eat.

Cubans don't seem particularly troubled about waiting. Shoving and jockeying for position are rare incidents (as are fights, drinking outside the clubs and littering, even though few policemen are on the streets). Perhaps most Cubans realize lines are an egalitarian way of controlling access to the limited number of restaurant tables and bar seats—an alternative to the free-market tactic of upping prices so high that only a portion of the population will be able to afford a night on the town.

Still, for an American visitor, the lines and sometimes sluggish service can be frustrating. It is occasionally necessary to remind oneself that the only people going hungry in Cuba today are probably those waiting to be seated at fancy restaurants.

Of all Havana's lines, the most startling is the Malecon, where young couples are stretched for nearly half a mile on a broad stone wall overlooking the splashing tide of the Gulf of Mexico. The capital city has long been the Cuban government's lowest priority for development, to discourage rapid urbanization as well as to reward the rural people who provided the bulk of Castro's support during the revolution. So Havana suffers a serious housing shortage, which means that most young people must live with their parents. Since strict Catholic attitudes about sex still reign in many households, lovers flee to the Malecon for a few undisturbed hours of courting, cuddling and kissing.

Meyer Lansky and the other mobsters who called the shots in pre-revolutionary Cuba envisioned the Malecon as more than a lover's lane. Their blueprints called for a string of high-rise hotels along the shore, done with the grand-scale gaudiness popular in the '50s. The victorious revolutionaries, of course, scrapped those plans and Vedado remains a pleasant neighborhood rather than a seaside version of Vegas.

But another of the Mafia's pet projects—the Tropicana garden nightclub—is still going strong. Arriving customers are greeted by a rainbow of bright lights, shining from tall tropical trees onto a groundcover of plaster cherubs and rococo fountains. A long line winds out of the club's wide portals, with many Cubans making a big night of it standing there alongside foreign tourists seeking a taste of the city's famed pre-revolutionary decadence.

"Chorus girls paraded 20 feet up among great palm trees while pink and mauve searchlights swept the floor," re-

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